

SENATOR BORAH SPEAKS VERY FRANKLY

I wish everyone might read the frank and sympathetic statements Senator Borah made to Kirby Page in an interview on March 25th. It appears in THE NEW YORK TIMES of March 26th. Not only does he say that such a treaty as Mr. Kellogg proposes would inaugurate a new epoch in international relationships, but he believes it would strengthen The League of Nations. The prevailing war system is itself the greatest obstacle in the pathway of Geneva, he thinks. "With war delegialized between these great powers it would soon be possible to secure a universal treaty completely outlawing war as an instrument of policy in international affairs. Then, and only then, will the League be free to concentrate upon its constructive and beneficent functions. At present we have a network of treaties and understandings relative to peace - arbitration treaties, conciliation treaties, The Hague Tribunal, World Court, peace machinery of the League and peace machinery of Locarno. The effect of the Kellogg proposal is a solemn pledge to let all this peace machinery work. It is a solemn pledge to rely upon the peace machinery and not upon the war machinery. If we are to prevent war or reduce the chances of war, every means known, moral, educational, arbitral, legal, political, must be harnessed for the struggle." When asked what about the obligations of the signatories of the Covenant of the League to use coercive measures against a nation which fails to observe its international obligations, he said: "These obligations can be easily safeguarded by widening the multilateral pact so as to include those nations which are most likely to be the victims of aggressive action by another power, as, for example, Belgium. If, after such action is taken, an attack is made on Belgium by one of the parties to the agreement, the resultant breach of the multilateral treaty would thereby ipso facto release the other signatories and enable them to adopt whatever measures seem most adequate under the circumstances. In other words, a

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News Letter

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April 12, 1928

THE BRIAND - KELLOGG CORRESPONDENCE

As the Briand - Kellogg correspondence goes on one is rather inclined to say with THE NEW YORK TIMES that it is difficult to believe one is living in the same world as that of fifteen years ago. Here are the secretaries of the foreign affairs of two of the great powers seriously discussing, with the consent of their governments, the outlawry of war. The word itself was one which only a few years ago made the world smile and anyone who used it was classed with the vain dreamers and impossible idealists. Today it is being proposed by two great nations as the basis of agreement for a treaty to be signed by all the powers. M. Briand first proposed a bilateral treaty between France and the United States; then Mr. Kellogg answered with suggestions of extending it to include the five or six great powers and now it is being discussed as a universal treaty. The offer of M. Briand hardly attracted any attention when first made. Most people in America did not even know it had been offered. Then President Nicholas Murray Butler called the attention of the public to it. Then as interest awakened, Secretary Kellogg took it up. Just now the whole world is awakening to what is going on and the press of every nation is full of it.

SECRETARY KELLOGG IN NEW YORK

On the evening of March 15th, Secretary Kellogg came to New York, and

ments wholly obsolete." He declared on the other hand that every priest of the Episcopal church is bound to believe in

their entirety the Apostle's creed and the Nicene creed, and he took severely to task "all who have been speaking against any part of them." This rebuke, it is reported, brought forth loud applause. Bishop Manning, reporting on the progress of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, said that he has sufficient funds to proceed at once

with the building of the two great towers at the west front of the cathedral, to cost \$1,800,000.

Presbyterian "Foundation" Suggested by Layman

George D. Dayton, wealthy merchant of Minneapolis, and a Presbyterian lay-



The American Discovery of Russia

SUMMER OF 1928

The Russian authorities have again offered to receive parties of Americans sponsored by the National Student Federation of America and the Open Road.

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Special Correspondence from Colorado

Denver, May. 12.

COLORADANS are proud of the Denver chapter of the D. A. R. At the very time that the steam roller was getting ready for action at the national convention in Washington the local chapter

Colorado Breathes Freer Air

held a special meeting and wired its delegates to oppose the blacklist policy of the present officials. Their action is unique, and gives them some claim to spiritual lineage from men who cried, "Give me liberty or give me death." Nor is Kirby Page too dangerously Christian for Denver university, the Denver ministerial alliance, or several other groups which listened to him with much stimulation to mind and will. The absence of an R. O. T. C. unit at D. U. probably accounts for the absence of the usual false propaganda which prevents his appearance before some of our college groups. College officials here urged Mr. Page to come for the annual week of prayer meetings but the pressure of his heavy schedule made acceptance impossible. Such a tolerance of opinion and even welcoming of new ideas as characterize our city is not the product of chance. Ever since war days the Denver open forum has provided an absolutely free platform for even the most "dangerous" of speakers listed by our superpatriots. Citizens have personally observed that the men and women listed by Fred Marvin and others really do not have horns, and the manifest sincerity, earnestness and intelligence of most of them have convinced large bodies of our townsmen that the key-man blacklist is indeed a roll of honor.

* * *

Is "Prosperity" Becoming the Business of the Churches?

Colorado has her share of churchmen who feel that it is the business of the pulpit to "preach the gospel" without including in "the gospel" any such "good news for the poor" as was brought by the prophets and Jesus when they denounced the current iniquities of their day and specifically pointed out some particulars in which the reign of God might be brought perceptibly nearer. Little has been said in our churches about the un-Christian conditions back of our much advertised but little felt prosperity. For example, a stockholder in one of Colorado's sugar companies is able to make a profit of \$121,807 on a \$10,000 investment in 23 years while banks are failing and merchants are going bankrupt because the farmers and workers to whom they extended credit are not able to realize enough on their work in the beet fields to pay their honest debts. But "hard-headed business men" on official boards are beginning to face facts. Some of our large-

est churches are unable to meet their budgets and repeated drives among wage and low salary earners bring the most meager results in the experience of many seasoned workers. It is rumored that some pulpit changes are to be made soon as a result of the difficulties encountered. Perhaps the present situation will not be without value if churches are forced as a matter of necessity to insist on regard for that portion of their creed which demands "the most equitable division of the product of industry."

* * *

Fellowship Conference At Estes Park

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is arranging for a western conference to be held in the Estes Park conference grounds of the Y. M. C. A., Aug. 19-31. This innovation in the summer program of the fellowship should result in a fine attendance of Rocky mountain region and plains folks. The 800-acre grounds in the heart of the Rockies, adjoining Rocky Mountain national park, 70 miles to the north of Denver, are without equal as a summer vacation camp. Altogether, aside from the values derived from the conference itself, two weeks in this favored nook of nature will be worth all it costs anyone. The program for this particular conference—the discussion method will be used throughout—will center around two themes: "The Relation of the Individual to the Group" and "The Struggle for Power." One week will be spent on each. Particular attention will be paid to the recent Colorado coal strike as a background. Among the local people who will assist in the discussion will be Miss Josephine Roche, major stockholder in Colorado's third largest coal company and projector of plans for a new relationship between her company and its employees. Miss Roche is an experienced social worker of fine technical training and unusually broad experience. Frank Palmer, ex-editor of the Colorado Labor Advocate and a leading figure in the recent strike, will prove a mine of information as to the facts of the strike and the mind of labor in general. A. A. Heist, pastor of Grace Community church, will make available his experience as a representative of the American Civil Liberties union during the entire period of the strike. Among the out of town people will be F. Ernest Johnson, of the federal council of churches; Robert W. Bagnall, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Eduard C. Lindeman, special investigator of employee representation; Stuart A. Queen, professor of sociology, University of Kansas; John Nevin Sayre, secretary F. O. R., and Goodwin B. Watson of Teachers college, Columbia.

A. A. HEIST.

MRS. CATT DOUBTS ABOLITION OF WAR

World Parliament to Define
Belligerency Urged by Her at
Social Science Session.

SENATE 'TIMIDITY' ASSAILED

Eagleton of N. Y. U. and Jessup
of Columbia Find Upper House
Jealous for Prerogatives.

OUR ARBITRATION DEFENDED

S. B. Axtell at Philadelphia Meeting
Questions the Wisdom of Rec-
ognizing Soviet.

Special to The New York Times.

PHILADELPHIA, May 12.—Defenders of the United States Government as "a pioneer in both judicial and arbitral branches of international settlement" came to grips at today's sessions of the American Academy of Political and Social Science with those who assailed this country's recent record in arbitration and described the attitude of the Senate as "based upon an irresponsible consideration of its own desire to have a hand in everything that comes along."

The two-day annual session of the academy at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel closed tonight with a presentation of divergent views on the status of disarmament.

The principal defender of America's leadership in arbitration was Dr. James Brown Scott, Secretary of the Carnegie Foundation for international peace. Declaring that the "peaceful settlement" idea had been ingrained in this country from the earliest days, he said that our major contribution had been the present Hague Court of International Justice, based on the Supreme Court of the United States.

Says Nation Was Peace Pioneer.

"In both of the great branches of international settlement, judicial and arbitral, the United States has been a pioneer, and if this country has not adhered to the international court, it made it nevertheless," he said. "And it has bound itself of its own free will with twenty-one nations of this Western Hemisphere to the settlement of all disputes of legal nature by due process of law."

Another speaker was Dr. Charles Cheney Hyde, Hamilton Fish Professor of International Law and Diplomacy in Columbia University, who supported the joint commission plan for the carrying out of agreements to renounce wars in the event that arbitration was unsuccessful.

He submitted the following bases of a proposed multilateral treaty, including this point:

First—An undertaking that when a controversy between two signatory States is not settled by direct negotiation or as a result of adjudication before a competent international tribunal or in consequence of the use of any other amicable means on which they may be agreed, it shall be referred to a joint commission composed exclusively of an equal number of representatives of the States at variance for final decision or recommendation as the parties may be able to agree.

Second—An agreement that a signatory State may, without being charged with unfriendly or unneutral conduct, exercise the right (and possibly accept the obligation) to forbid the removal from its territory of munitions of war and other forms of essentially military aid which it has reason to believe are destined for the use of any other signatory State which, in the judgment of the former, goes to war in violation of the foregoing undertaking.

Eagleton Criticizes Senate.

The severest critic of the Senate and of America's foreign policy was Dr. Clyde Eagleton of the International Law Department in New York University. He agreed that "superficially" it appeared as if we had kept pace fairly well with the development of pacific settlement. He held that the truest indication of this superficiality was the Senate's demand that it be permitted to pass upon the question whether or not an issue arising under a treaty was a proper one for arbitration.

In the matter of submitting to the judicial settlement of justiciable disputes, Dr. Eagleton said:

"Our attitude has been one of

maintaining our position, no matter how false it may be, against all comers."

To regain the leadership which in his opinion this country has lost, he added:

"We must first come to the elementary position of recognizing that we are not always and necessarily right; and that it should be conceded also that the intervention of the Senate, far from furnishing an infallible guide, only adds to the difficulty of securing peaceful adjustment."

Dr. Philip C. Jessup, Assistant Professor of International Law at Columbia University, was another critic of the Senate. He asserted that the upper house had checked Presidents of the last few years in a series of efforts to conclude broad treaties with other countries.

"The Senatorial policy," he said, "has apparently been actuated by two factors, a timidity with respect to international commitments, and a concern for its own prerogatives."

Editor Finds Leaders Ignorant.

Kirby Page, editor of The World Tomorrow, declaring he had found surprising ignorance among educators and other leaders concerning the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine recommended that the Government "use the Monroe Doctrine in an accurate sense and not as a synonym for 'foreign policy.'"

Arthur Bullard of Washington, who has spent four years studying conditions at Geneva, said in part:

"I believe that the principal reason why other countries have been willing to go much further toward general and compulsory arbitration than we have been is very largely due to the development of conference methods, at Geneva and elsewhere, as an instrumentality for dealing with political questions which cannot safely be referred to the judicial procedure of arbitration."

Summarizing the arguments, Dr. Charles G. Fenwick, of Bryn Mawr College, said he did not like Secretary Kellogg's statement that "political questions cannot be arbitrated." Political questions, the speaker pointed out, were developing continually into legal questions.

Russian Situation Canvassed.

The Russian situation, and the question of recognition by this country, produced dissimilar conclusions from students of the Soviet régime at this morning's session. Not even among speakers who had spent time in Russia as observers was there unanimity of opinion on the subject, though in general it was held that immediate recognition by the United States was undesirable.

Silas B. Axtell, a New York maritime lawyer who visited Russia with the trade union delegation, was the severest critic among the five speakers.

"The object of obtaining recognition is that large loans may be floated here, so that the Russian Government will have money with which

to develop her industries and natural resources. Why we should expect," he declared, "that an obligation solemnly undertaken by such a Government now would be fulfilled more faithfully than obligations already incurred is more than I can understand."

Ivy Lee said he sympathized with the conclusions of Mr. Axtell that recognition at present is undesirable. But he declared the Russian people felt that in this country they had their real friends and that his feeling had "nothing to do with Socialism, Communism or Bolshevism."

Statements from previous speakers that Russia was drifting toward capitalism were disputed by Dr. Samuel Cahan of Syracuse University, who said the country was going in the opposite direction—to Socialism.

Mrs. Catt Holds War Inevitable.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt of New York opened tonight's discussion of disarmament by saying that the abolition of war was an impossible ideal.

"It is certain to come as the sun

is sure to rise tomorrow," she declared.

In the last naval conference at Geneva, in Mrs. Catt's opinion, each of the three nations approached the problem with the thought and belief in probable war, and not with the determination to cooperate in bringing a reign of certain peace.

"Disarmament is more political in character than military, and more psychological than political. Successful and effective disarmament will come sooner if the approach is through another avenue than a disarmament conference."

Peace "Negative on War."

Declaring that eighty-two cents out of every dollar paid in Federal taxes goes to the maintenance of the institution of war, she added:

"War is an institution and peace is not. It is merely the negative of war. Disarmament should naturally proceed down to the point necessary for adequate self-defense. But who can determine when a nation is prepared adequately for self defense? The

great need is a preliminary disarmament, and as a preliminary the erection of a dependable institution is an international agreement with authority to agree definitions, and the vocabulary scarcely exceed fifty words, mingling with war itself."

She suggested that a peace institution be organized and placed in the State Department to "draw that department into an active role for peace."

The American side of the conference was presented by Admiral Hilary P. Jones and other speakers at the session. Norman Hapgood of New York, representative Hamilton Fish of New York, Representative Henry R. Bone of Illinois and Rear Admiral Thomas P. Magruder.

An Acknowledgment.

THE NEW YORK TIMES acknowledges receipt of a contribution from J. S. K., in memory of Philip Germansky, for the famine sufferers. This money has been forwarded to the China Relief, 419 Fourth Avenue.

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Under the READING LAMP

SCRIBNER'S.

Rollo Walter Brown has presented in the May number of Scribner's an agreeable and altogether human portrait of a painter of this century, under the title, "George Bellows—American." Bellows offers the unusual exhibition of a great shortstop developing into a greater artist. The highlights of his short career, as Mr. Brown has sketched them, are extremely interesting, the author having a delightful style. As he says at the beginning, the artist's life was "a joyous, unaccompanied pursuit," in which Bellows laid out his own course.

"In trying to understand what he was about, his family, his friends and the public were always a step or two behind; in trying to anticipate the direction of his next move, they were always wrong. His mother early dreamed that her slender, light-haired son would become a bishop. His father proposed that his son become a banker.... But George said: 'I don't want to be a banker. I'm going to Ohio state. I believe I can make the baseball team.'"

Not only did he "make" the baseball team, but he came to be accepted as the greatest shortstop the Ohio State team had ever known. When he finished college, his fellow collegians said, "of course, you will go into professional baseball," and were astounded at his decisive reply, "Hu-uh! I'm going to be an artist." He had never doubted his qualifications as an artist, and at Ohio State he had received encouragement to think his abilities were important. New York, when he arrived there, was not so sure. Was it possible that a fellow from way out in Ohio could know anything about art?

But it was not so many years before New York began to notice George Bellows, and to talk of him as the man who painted "red-blooded American life," for, in art as in other things, he followed his individual way. He painted "the things possessing everyday dignity and significance, but long treated with disdain, all the unglorified struggle of his kind, cried to him for expression." Yet, if he—

"... was hailed as the artist who made things anybody would understand; so, too, was he as completely misunderstood as ever. For if he was the painter of the vigorous, the physically dramatic, he was to be even more the painter of the subtle and the intimate.... When a man of such capacity to go his own way emerges from surroundings where he might little be expected to appear, he soon becomes a legend. Everybody wants

(Continued on Following Page.)

THE WORLD TOMORROW.

Examination of the intent of Secretary Kellogg's phrase, "unqualified renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy," and of the whole question of outlawry of war, has been thoroughly done by Kirby Page in the May issue of *The World Tomorrow*. Under the title, "Senator Borah, Outlawry and the League," Mr. Page discusses the individual points, and makes this summary:

"Armed self-defense is permitted in the outlawry program and in the covenant of the league. In both plans, each nation decides for itself when a breach of the treaty has been committed and what measures it should adopt.... Collective armed defense against a violator of a multilateral agreement is permitted in both programs. Neither plan proposes to delegatize all use of armed force by a nation. Both seek to outlaw war as an instrument of national policy, to delegatize war as a method of settling international disputes."

But Mr. Page finds that there are grave weaknesses in the plans of both Kellogg and Briand, because—

"Neither lays the axe at the root of the war system. Neither proposes to delegatize all use of armaments by nations. Both schemes leave large loopholes for aggressive violence.... As long as each nation reserves the right to use armed force in self defense and to decide for itself when it is acting in self defense, outlawry will be ineffective."

Other important topics discussed are: "The People's Fight for Power," by Harry W. Laidler; "Recent Gains in Industrial Relations," by Mary Van Kleeck; "Pacifism and the Use of Force," by Reinhold Niebuhr; "Does the Foreigner Get Justice in the United States?" by Amy Blanche Greene. An entirely individual outlook on the negro question is expressed by Zora Neale Hurston, who tells "How It Feels to be Colored Me."

* * *
JAPAN.

Japan's ancient enthronement ceremonies, which will again be enacted in November when the present Emperor Hirohito, formally ascends the throne of his country, are described at great length in the month's issue of the overseas travel magazine, *Japan*. Teruyuki Hoshino, who is an official of the bureau of ceremonies, gives an outline of the whole elaborate ritual, which is divided into three parts: The Zengi, or preparatory ceremonies; the Hongi, or principal;

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UNITY AND DISUNITY IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Edited by

DEXTER PERKINS

Department of History and Government, University of Rochester

Steps Toward the Outlawry of War

SINCE the 28th of last December a most important discussion has been carried on by the Secretary of State of the United States, on the one hand, and by Aristide Briand, the French minister of Foreign Affairs, upon the other. It has to do with the fundamental problem which is often described as the outlawry of war.

The origin of this discussion is to be found in a speech of M. Briand's made more than a year ago in which he proposed that the French and American governments agree as between themselves to outlaw war. A formal proposal for the drafting of such a treaty was made by the French government in June, but for some time negotiations made little headway. And then, in December, Secretary Kellogg opened a vigorous discussion with his note of the 28th. This note was written only after consulting the members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, and especially Senator Borah. It is, indeed, to be assumed that in every step of the exchanges of view which have taken place since that time, the Secretary of State is proceeding in close contact with Mr. Borah, if he is not in large measure actually guided by his advice.

The note of the 28th of December proposed, in place of a mere agreement between the United States and France, a general declaration of the principal nations of the world renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, and suggested a common

working against the international anarchy and chaos of today, for and toward an international cooperation that may be the promise of tomorrow.

In the truest sense the contact of Asia with the Western world means that in the ceaseless course by which the divergent streams of humanity tend to unite, no nation that will live and prosper can remain passive, whether that nation be Chinese or Indian or any other; for the mighty flood of human progress will tear it from its moorings unless it contribute its share to the general progress and the perfection toward which humanity is striving, its share toward hastening the disappearance of prejudices based on race, religion, nation, caste and class, toward hastening the arrival of an era when divergence of individual opinion shall be the sole effective test of the separateness of mankind.

Stress therefore upon the approximation of thought and goodwill, upon what has been mutually given and mutually received between the two great centers of civilization, East and West, serves to emphasize the interdependence of mankind which lies at the root of world unity.

When we of the West become thoroughly conscious of our indebtedness to the Orient for many of the essentials of our culture, and when they in the East acknowledge in like manner what has come from the Occident to put them abreast of the life that betokens the modern age with its mighty conquest of the forces of nature, then and then only notions of respective superiority and inferiority will yield to a concept of potential equality. This in its turn will make clear to all of us that actual differences between human beings are primarily those peculiar to individuals, and are determinable by the larger or smaller opportunities each may have to rise in the scale of useful achievement. Ours indeed is a realm of spiritual endeavor replete with possibilities, unlimited. If turned to effect they may cause the noble words of Edith Cavell—"Patriotism is not enough"—to take on the meaning that the fact of a common humanity transcends the bounds of states, diffusing over earth in its entirety a consciousness of meaning never attained before.

effort of the two governments to bring such a declaration into being.

This note was answered by the French government on the 5th of January. From the very beginning of the discussion down to the present day the Quai d'Orsay has approached the problem from a slightly different angle than the government of the United States, though, as will be seen, it is not to be inferred that the differences between them are irreconcilable. The essence of the difference lies in the fact that France is bound by the terms of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and by certain other special engagements which must be taken into consideration by the directors of her policy. Under the Covenant, armed action is in some instances permissible. In particular, such action is permissible against a nation which has broken the promises of Articles 12 or 13 to submit its disputes with other states either to arbitration, judicial inquiry, or a process of conciliation before resort to war. Indeed, the underlying conception of this great international compact is that such a law-breaking state will have turned against it the economic force, and if necessary, the military force, of some or all of the members of the League.

To the French mind, and indeed to the Continental mind in general, this idea of punitive action is of considerable importance. A mere promise to abstain from war, so the argument runs, is worthless. In some fashion the state which breaks such a promise must be punished. Provision must be made for some kind of action against it. And such action may be military action, defensible as a measure of international police rather than as war in the exact sense of the term. In following out this idea, the French government has subscribed to the treaties of Locarno, which contemplate war against an aggressor nation, and by these treaties it is bound as well as by the terms of the Covenant. The great question at issue in the Franco-American negotiations is whether the French and American points of view on the question of coercive action against a wantonly aggressive state can be harmonized. France, and indeed the European nations in general, will probably show a very luke-warm interest in a mere

engagement not to resort to war; they will view in a very different fashion an engagement not to resort to war to which some kind of machinery of enforcement is attached.

Viewed in another light, what is at stake in the discussions now going on is whether the United States will, in any degree or in any manner, assist in maintaining world peace. Is it ready to help in some way, (not necessarily in a military way, but in some fashion or other) in preventing war? The momentous character of such a question is obvious.

To return to the Franco-American negotiations, the French government, mindful of its obligations under the Covenant and the treaties of Locarno, answered Mr. Kellogg's communication of the 28th of December with the announcement that it was willing to unite in an agreement to renounce all wars "*of aggression*." This phrase the American Secretary of State found highly unsatisfactory in his note of January 11, and it seemed for a little as if the chances of a real accord were very remote. That France would or will consent to any emasculation of the Covenant of the League or to the surrender of the security afforded her by the treaties of Locarno, is hardly to be expected.

But the discussion was not dropped. Indeed it has continued down to date, and at this writing the French and American governments have agreed to approach in common the other principal governments of the world. M. Briand still makes certain important reserves, but the differences between him and Mr. Kellogg are apparently not considered sufficiently serious to constitute a bar to further action.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the whole matter is the support which Senator Borah is giving to the negotiations. On him, as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, devolves a great responsibility, and with him rests the power to cripple or to advance the activities of the State Department. He has obviously been pursuing the latter course.

Consider, for example, the question of reconciling such an agreement as Mr. Kellogg proposed with the terms of the Covenant of the League. To meet this difficulty Senator Borah has

suggested the following ingenious conception: If one of the states signatory to the proposed treaty should violate it, that would automatically release all the others from their engagement with respect to it. Under such circumstances, then, the signatory states which were also members of the League would be free to fulfil their obligations, even to resort to force against the aggressor. There is, then, no real incompatibility between the State Department proposal and the European treaties above referred to. This interesting concept has been promptly appropriated by M. Briand in his last note to the American government. In this note, in which in general he expresses his willingness to proceed to negotiate the proposed treaty, he stipulates specifically that violation by one of the parties shall release the others from its terms as against the violator.

Even more interesting, however, as illustrating Mr. Borah's thought, is the statement published in the Sunday New York Times on March 25. In an interview given to Mr. Kirby Page, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee expresses the opinion that, in the case of the breach of such a compact as is under discussion, it is "inconceivable" that the United States would not take some measures to punish such an aggressor. What those measures should be must be determined, says the Senator, by the United States itself. But complete acquiescence in the wanton ignoring of the obligations thus imposed is not to be expected for a moment.

Such a statement brings the French and American views into closer contact than ever before. In expressing these sentiments Senator Borah is advancing materially the prospects of a successful negotiation. His views will doubtless influence Mr. Kellogg very materially, and the knowledge of his attitude will encourage the Secretary of State to proceed toward constructive action.

It is entirely possible, therefore, that something quite important will come out of the Briand-Kellogg negotiations. It may be that the way is being paved for an agreement, outside the Covenant of the League, which will none the less align the United States with the other great nations of the world in re-

nouncing war, and in providing an effective machinery for punishing the aggressor.

On the other hand, a false optimism is dangerous. In an election year, when timid counsels almost universally prevail, progress on a conception so large as that of the outlawry of war, is bound to be slow. And, more important still, there is no telling what the Senate of the United States will do to a general treaty of the kind proposed if the matter ever comes to that stage. The tactics of the enemies of all peace agreements in the Senate is always the same. It is to emasculate such measures by numerous reservations. Such reservations require only a majority vote, and can be drawn in such an attractive form as to command the support of many members. Yet, by such means, many an international engagement for peace has been made illusory, in practical fact.

It is something, however, that the United States has again entered into an international discussion aimed at the destruction of the war-system. In their implications the Kellogg-Briand negotiations are as far-reaching as any that have been attempted by the American government in many a year. Their success, like that of most other projects in politics, will probably depend in large measure upon just how vigorous is the interest, and how tenacious the purpose, of the people of this country.



tional pale metaphysical abstractions. It is spiritually akin to such important contemporary thinking as Whitehead's *Science and the Modern World*.

SAVONAROLA: A BIOGRAPHY IN DRAMATIC EPISODES. Robert M. McBride. \$5.) The most valuable of the flood of biographies in dramatic form that I have encountered. An important Christian figure in an important historical period, both vividly portrayed.

A BOOK OF MODERN PRAYERS. McComb. (Longmans, Green. \$1.50.) A selection of prayers from Methson, Hoyland, Jowell, Martineau, and others, each followed by a paragraph (often from sources not readily available) by Drummond, von Hügel, Maeterlinck, Inge, James, etc. Those who valued Oldham's *Devotional Diary* will value this.

DON JUAN. Jose Martinez Ruiz Azorin. (Knopf. \$2.) A hors d'œuvre yet spiritually nourishing fare in the form of a neatly bound little volume. Brief, living sketches of Spanish village life, suffused by a quaint suggestion of one interpretation of the simple yet profound Way of Life.

Kenneth Saunders

(Professor at Pacific School of Religion)

ENGLAND. Dean Inge. (Scribners. \$3.)

CHINA THROUGH CHINESE EYES. T. T. Lew and others. (Doran. \$1.25.)

MAHATMA GANDHI. Gray and Parkh. (Association Press. \$1.50.)

THE CHANGING EAST. H. A. Spender. (Stokes. \$3.)

RELIGION IN THE MAKING. Alfred N. Whitehead. (Macmillan \$1.50.)

Kirby Page

(Editor, *The World Tomorrow*)

Oddly (or not) three of Mr. Page's recommendations duplicated titles already given. We therefore here list only two of his selections.)

ESSAYS ON NATIONALISM. Carlton J. H. Hayes. (Macmillan \$3.50.)

IMPERIALISM AND WORLD POLITICS. Parker T. Moon. (Macmillan. \$2.50.)

THE PAST IN PAGEANT

THE story of the birth and development of the Student Christian Association Movement lends itself easily to portrayal in pageant form. Such a pageant is now under preparation and its first presentation is promised for the Student Secretaries' Assembly at Estes Park next summer. The pageant will present vividly but in rather simple and reproducible form, the dramatic story of the Student Association Movement, from its birth at Louisville half a century ago, to the present, when it includes within its family the students of twenty-seven nations, and finally a "forward look" into the future. In the autumn copies of the pageant will be made available to local Associations who may wish to reproduce it on their own campuses. Requests should be sent early to national headquarters.

LOUISVILLE CALL

(Carried forward from p. 248)

We believe that a system of correspondence would tend to accomplish the results which we have mentioned. We are aware that the greater part of the Christian work in Colleges must be done by the personal labor of students one with another, but we think that letters from the Christian organization of one College to that of another would do much to arouse the zeal necessary for active and successful Christian work. Christian interest would be awakened, Christian sympathy be communicated, and revivals in true religion spread from one College to another. In addition to such good results springing from this correspondence, much good might be accomplished through it by establishing inter-visits for the purpose of Christian work between the students of colleges situated near each other.

By deliberating together, we may also be able—in some way—to establish an Intercollegiate association of a Christian character that would greatly enhance the desirable results referred to. We are all aware of the vast benefits derived from intercollegiate relations in other regards. Then why should not we, as Christians, endeavor to secure, on a higher spiritual plane, a similar fruitage for the blessed Master? Reflection will suggest to you the many good results which may flow

from such a consummation. Every year there is an especial awakening in some section of the country in connection with which the Colleges enjoy a season of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. Through the agency of the Holy Spirit, these conventions might thus be made centers from which blessed influences would flow through all the Colleges, and ultimately tell for good throughout the whole national life.

Cannot we then, in order to perfect measures that will lead to a realization of such blessed results as we have been able to present only by way of suggestion, make arrangements to meet each other through delegates at a convention to be held some time during the present year? The idea of an independent convention composed exclusively of College delegates to be held in the Spring at some central point, has been considered. After advice from various sources and a careful consideration of the whole subject, however, it is our decided opinion that the best plan would be our attendance at the annual convention of the Y. M. C. A. which is to be held at Louisville, Ky., on June 6th-10th. In this convention we could both receive and impart good. The committee having charge of the arrangements for the convention is willing to devote a portion of the time to a discussion of Christian work in Colleges. At some time during the continuance of that convention we can, also, hold a separate meeting of College delegates to consider such subjects as we have suggested. . . .

We entreat you, as brothers in Christ, to give the whole subject a careful and prayerful consideration; and communicate to us at your earliest convenience the result of your deliberations. We hope you will feel free to offer any suggestions occurring to you regarding the subject; and, if any other plan for attaining the desired end seems preferable, that you will submit it.

As soon as possible, after hearing from the various Colleges of the land, we will notify you as to the favor with which the project is received, and will inform you of the definite arrangements agreed upon by a majority of the Colleges.

Pray for us, Dear Brothers, and for the success of our work; and we shall continue to pray that God's blessing may attend you all.

R. M. MATEER,
W. M. SMITH,
H. M. McDONALD,
A. W. HALSEY,
F. V. HARRIS,

Committee on behalf of Philadelphian Society of Princeton College.

who immediately became his patron and gave him commission for many years. In one of his most famous paintings, "The Death of General Wolfe," he departed from the custom of the artists of the day by giving his characters the costumes of the day in which they lived rather than clothe them in Greek or Roman garb, as had been done up to that time. At the time this was regarded as an epoch-making innovation. Many of his paintings are of a religious character, such as "Christ Healing the Sick"; the "Crucifixion"; the "Ascension," etc. Of his pictures, "Christ Healing the Sick," "Penn's Treaty with the Indians," and the "Death of the Pale Horse" are in Philadelphia, while another, "Kingdom," is in Boston.

His pictures, which number about 400, are of heroic size and display much inventive power and great skill in composition. But they are monotonously reddish-brown in coloring, and, despite their facility, lack spirit and imaginative value. His position in early American art has won for him a recognition somewhat in excess of his actual merit. He was one of the founders of the British Royal Academy and later on became its president.



Has the cross still a meaning for our modern generation? Or is it also one of those ideas and traditions which have outlived their usefulness? There are signs of the times which, to many, seem to indicate that

The Meaning of the Cross in Modern Life

the cross no longer has a meaning for this worldly, sophisticated, money- and pleasure-mad generation, and there are those, many of them in places of leadership, even in the church, who have no use for it. And if we identify the cross with certain ideas of the atonement, or limit it to a certain theory of reconciliation between God and man we can easily see why modern men and women do not understand the cross and have no use for it. And there have always been those who were "enemies of the cross of Christ:—whose end is perdition, whose god is the belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things," Phil. 3: 18.

Any one, however, who has heard Kirby Page's message, "The Meaning of the Cross in Modern Life," knows that the cross does still have a real meaning for these modern days, and the conviction is made more complete by the clear reasoning and forceful eloquence with which he drives home his arguments. Belief in and companionship with God, he tells us, is the central fact of Jesus' experience. Since all men and women everywhere are brothers and sisters, children of one Father, Jesus chooses the virtues of the family as his standard of conduct. Good members of the family are characterized by sympathy, kindness, love, forbearance, patience, forgiveness and sacrifice. The heart of Jesus' message is contained in the challenge: "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you," which cannot be fully understood without remembering how intensely and desperately was the Jewish hatred of Rome. In his effort to overcome the evil of his day Jesus refuses to use the weapons of Satan to cast out Satan, but chooses rather to rely upon the persuasive power of love incarnated in life.

However, Jesus does not anticipate an easy or immediate victory over evil. On the contrary, he foretells his own crucifixion and warns the disciples that they also run the risk of being persecuted and killed if they follow him. Yet he challenges them to resist evil by doing good and deliberately and cheerfully to take the consequences of relying upon spiritual weapons. Jesus says it is better for the innocent to die, if necessary, than to retaliate evil with evil.

The challenge to us, as present-day disciples of Jesus, is clear and unmistakable. Time, energy, money and even life itself must be devoted to the practical task of creating social processes through which evil may be overcome with good. The hundreds of millions of dollars now being spent annually upon armaments and weapons of violence must be used in a world-wide educational campaign to create understanding, sympathy and cooperation between nations, races and classes. Tens of thousands of our ablest men and women must equip themselves for leadership in this gigantic undertaking. We must have all faith in the latent capacity of evildoers to respond to kindness and love and trust God for ultimate victory.

Above all, modern disciples of Jesus must be willing to take the consequences of following his example and guidance. Overcoming evil is dangerous business. Evil can be overcome with good only when we are willing to endure ignominy, discomfort, pain and even death rather than abandon our ideal or forsake our method.

This meaning of the cross does not conflict with any theory of the atonement one may hold, but rather deepens and expands it toward a larger life and a greater service for humanity.

WHEN JESUS WAS GLAD

Luke 10: 17-20

"Nevertheless in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rejoice that your names are written in heaven," Luke 10: 20.

A certain Lentulus, the ostensible predecessor of Pontius Pilate, is said to have written to the Roman senate a report concerning Jesus, containing a description of him, in which the statement appears that the author had never seen Jesus smile, but had often seen him weep. The report is unauthentic, of course, but there are very many good Christians (if one can be a good Christian in spite of a false impression of Jesus) who seem to behave on that principle. For Luke tells us, 10: 21, that Jesus rejoiced in the Holy Spirit, and the writer at least cannot believe that he did this without showing some of the joy on his countenance. It is quite likely, also, that on the many occasions when Jesus praised God or thanked him, his face showed the nature of his feelings. On this occasion, at any rate, we have good reason to believe that Jesus was very glad indeed.

And there was good reason for his happiness. He would not have been truly human if he had not shown pleasure at the joyful enthusiasm of the seventy disciples because of the success they had experienced. This was the first laymen's evangelistic campaign in the history of Christianity, and it

though they were, the guests of honor were given little time to express their surprise. A silver wreath was placed upon the brow of the bride by the president of the Ladies' Aid Society, and a silver sprig in the lapel of the bridegroom's coat; and Rev. and Mrs. Dreusicke with their family of four sons and one daughter were asked to lead the procession into the church.

Here a beautiful service was conducted by Rev. Hoefer of Chicago. Prayer was offered by Prof. D. Irion, of Elmhurst College. Inspiring addresses were given, in German by Rev. G. Plassmann of Bensenville, and in English by Rev. Wm. Kreis of Dolton. Rev. M. Hoefer performed the jubilee service and invoked the divine blessing upon the couple on the occasion of their anniversary. Pleasing musical numbers were furnished by the organist and the orchestra.

Just before the conclusion of the service, Mr. H. Henke, president of St. John's in behalf of the congregation, presented Rev. and Mrs. Dreusicke with a box containing one hundred seventy-five silver dollars, a splendid token of the esteem in which the pastor and his family are held by their church.

After many congratulations had been spoken, the guests were seated to a delicious banquet served by the Ladies' Aid Society. Here Mr. H. Hageman, president of the Brotherhood, spoke words of appreciation and presented the pastor with a gift.

Prof. Carl Bauer, of Elmhurst College, did the honors as toastmaster. Each of the visiting pastors, the first speaker being Prof. D. Irion, responded eloquently, as did also those of the ladies called on by the toastmaster. Interspersed with humor, many were the remarks lauding Rev. A. Dreusicke and family. Between toasts, melody was furnished by local musicians. Rev. A. Dreusicke in his closing reply expressed gratitude to the local

church and all others who had assisted in the celebration, and gave honor and glory to God who had guided him through good days and evil.

The hymn "Behold how good and pleasant" and a prayer, by Dr. Dan. Irion marked the close of a beautiful day.

Rev. Dreusicke and family have done excellent work in their own congregation and in the Synod at large, and it is our earnest wish that God may spare them many more years of service and happiness.

E. F. Pinckert.

News Items

Rev. C. J. Keppel, executive secretary of our Board of Religious Education, recently spent two days with the ministers and churches of Baltimore, Md., in discussing the preparations for the Fourth National Sunday school Convention, to be held in that city in August.

On Feb. 27 Rev. Paul Schaeffer preached his first sermon in Morrell Park Evangelical Church, Baltimore, Md.

While some Evangelical ministers have introduced the innovation of preaching without gowns, we have noticed a return to the good custom of their fathers in other denominations. The gown has many advantages. It is a uniform which sets the pastor apart from other persons during the service; it exerts a solemnizing influence on the people; tradition is in favor of it; it overcomes the tailoring element, discouraging comparison as to quality and style of suits; it hides angularities and misfits; it saves money.

Philip Vollmer.

THE GOSPEL OF THE KINGDOM

READERS ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO CONTRIBUTE TO THIS DEPARTMENT ANY ITEMS OF INTEREST, REPORTS OR SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING SOCIAL SERVICE OR PUBLIC WELFARE ACTIVITIES IN WHICH THEY OR THEIR BROTHERHOOD, BIBLE CLASS, WOMEN'S OR YOUNG PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION MAY BE INTERESTED

NEWS ITEMS FROM CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE FEDERATION OF EVANGELICAL CHARITIES SHOULD BE SENT TO REV. S. KRUSE, 437 ROSE HILL AVE., KIRKWOOD, MISSOURI.

Kirby Page in St. Louis

The visit of Kirby Page, well-known lecturer and author, secretary of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, and editor of *The World Tomorrow*, February 20-23, was an occasion of unusual importance to the religious forces of St. Louis. The foolish and abortive "warning" of certain military instructors at Washington University, who showed their ignorance of both Mr. Page and of Bolshevism by calling him "bolshivist," only served to bring out larger audiences in the three public addresses he delivered on Sunday, February 20. Mr. Page was the speaker in the morning service at the Second Presbyterian Church, a leading church in the West End, or exclusive residential section of the city, in the North Side Y. M. C. A. at 4:00 P. M., and in a city-wide mass meeting of Evangelical men and women at St. Peter's Evangelical Church at 8:00 P. M. His messages in both the churches were stirring and forceful, and he brought to all who heard him a new and deeper conception of the social significance of the Christian religion. The line of thought discussed in the evening address was briefly outlined on the editorial page last week.

Mr. Page's addresses in the North Side Y. M. C. A. and at Bethel Church nearby, where a young people's rally was in progress, dealt with the situation in Russia, and the Christian attitude toward war, respectively. At noon on Monday 200 ministers of greater St. Louis heard him pleading for attention on the part of the nation to the danger points in all present international

relations: that of inter-allied debts and reparations, and that related to our national policy of protection as extended to the property interest of the United States in foreign countries. In an evening address before a dinner attended by representatives of churches and social agencies Mr. Page stressed the fact that the industries of the United States, as of all manufacturing nations, require a current of imports of raw material. As a result the industrial nations are competing with increasing intensity for the trade of the nations that produce raw material. This competition has in the past been a chief source of war and the need is for international conferences and the development of international friendship. On Tuesday Mr. Page spoke at a series of conferences with Y. M. C. A. leaders and in the evening on the Christian attitude toward war to the Washington University Y. M. C. A., and on Wednesday he spoke to the students at Eden Seminary in the afternoon and at Union Avenue Christian church in the evening. The number of people thus reached by arguments for a Christian reorganization of the social order was unusually large and the heaven of the Kingdom of God as applied to the social problems and wrongs of today was set working in many of the choicest spirits of the city.

We would earnestly urge all our readers to miss no opportunity of hearing an address by Kirby Page. His modest Christian spirit, his earnest forceful plea on behalf of the spirit of Jesus, his simple language and convincing arguments, and his frank and fearless attitude toward all the stirring problems of

CENTRAL FUND LINKS AGENCIES AIDING PACIFISM

Church and Socialists in Same Propaganda.

BY ARTHUR SEARS HENNING.
ARTICLE 5.

Washington, D. C., July 13.—[Special.]—The link between the pacifists, the Federal Council of Churches, and other church propagandist organizations on the one hand and the Socialists and Communists on the other is the American Fund for Public Service, which subsidizes a multitude of radical agencies for the promotion of pacifism and the "class struggle."

This agency, controlled by Socialists and Communists, is commonly known as the Garland fund, having originally been the \$1,000,000 inheritance of Charles Garland, a radical, who recently served a prison term for connection with a free love colony.

The Garland fund directors are Roger N. Baldwin, H. H. Broach, Morris L. Ernst, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Lewis S. Gannett, Benjamin Gitlow, Clinton S. Golden, James Weldon Johnson, Freda Kirchwey, Robert W. Dunn, Scott Nearing and Norman M. Thomas.

Noted Radicals Involved.

Until recently the board of trustees included Robert Morss Lovett, chairman of the socialistic League for Industrial Democracy, and William Z. Foster, who as head of the Trade Union Educational League with headquarters in Chicago directs the communistic boring from within the ranks of organized labor. Gitlow and Nearing are communists. Gitlow served part of a prison sentence for subversive utterances, being pardoned by Gov. Al Smith.

Dismissed from two colleges for his radicalism Nearing became a lecturer in the Rand School of Social Science, a Socialist institution, with which he more recently severed his connection when he became a Communist. In 1913 he and the Rand school were indicted under the espionage act for

A. Weigle, Prof. Jerome Davis, Kirby Page, and Bishop Francis J. McConnell.

The Garland fund financed the publication of the Lane pamphlet by the Fellowship of Reconciliation as propaganda for the abolition of military training in schools and colleges. This pamphlet was written by Winthrop D. Lane, a Socialist, who is an officer of the League for Industrial Democracy, also largely financed by the Garland fund.

Feeding College Youth.

The Lane pamphlet was widely circulated by the League for Industrial Democracy, which "bores from within" the colleges, the Civil Liberties union, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, all financed in part by the Garland fund, the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order and to some extent by the Federal Council of Churches.

The pamphlet is a radical, pacifistic attack on the provisions of the national defense act of 1920 for the establishment of reserve officers training corps units in schools and colleges.

The Lane pamphlet was indorsed by a committee of churchmen, educators and radicals, including the Rev. Samuel Cavert, Harold A. Hatch, Frederick Lynch, the Rev. C. C. Morrison, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Kirby Page, and Stanley High of the Federal Council of Churches.

Through the radical monthly, the World Tomorrow, the editor of which is Kirby Page, radical pacifist and chairman of the executive committee

of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, the Garland fund, by means of financial support, reaches another tentacle into the churches, the Y. M. C. A., and the schools.

These of Another Brand.

While the extreme "right" is being thus peacefully penetrated the "left" wing receives careful and intensive cultivation by the trustees of the Garland fund. Among the left wing institutions receiving subsidies from the Garland fund are the "Daily Worker," organ of the communists; the Rand School of Social Science, a socialist college; several communist schools; the Federated press which supplies news matter and propaganda to communist, socialist and other radical organs; and a multitude of others ranging all the way from a committee to study "American imperialism" to "a group of students at Northwestern university and Garrett Biblical institute, Evanston, Ill., for anti-militaristic movement."

The American Civil Liberties union, which specializes in legal defense of radicals, receives large subsidies from the Garland fund. A majority of the Garland fund trustees are leaders in the union. The chairman of the union is the Rev. Harry F. Ward, the radical clergyman who is connected with the social service commission of the Federal Council of Churches and secretary of the Methodist federation for social service.

Illustration of Philosophy.

Under the doctrine of the Civil Liberties Union, the advocacy of any vio-

lence, even assassination, ought never to be interfered with by law.

"No man," said Roger Baldwin, director of the union, "should ever be locked up for what he says—even if he advocates overthrowing the government by violence or advises the destruction of property. The time to lock him up is when he starts to do something. If some one who hears him takes his advice and starts something, lock them both up. He who directly advises a criminal act is equally guilty with him who does it. But unless there is an act, done or attempted, the utterance should not be punished. The only way to judge the effect of words is by acts."

Unfortunately for the legality of this doctrine, the United States Supreme court held the contrary in sustaining the conviction of Benjamin Gitlow, a Garland fund trustee, for subversive utterances, and, more recently, the conviction of Anita Whitney for violation of the California criminal syndicalism law.

Copying Sinclair and London.

The League for Industrial Democracy, of which Robert Morss Lovett of the University of Chicago is president, is merely a new name for the Intercollegiate Socialist society, founded by Upton Sinclair and Jack London some twenty years ago "to promote an intelligent understanding of the labor movement and of the movement toward a new social order based on production for use and not for profit."

Closely related in propaganda activities are the Fellowship for a Christian Social order, of which Sherwood Eddy,

wealthy international secretary of the Y. M. C. A., is chairman and principal financial supporter, and the radical monthly, "The World Tomorrow," which is liberally subsidized by the Garland fund and the editor of which is Kirby Page, radical pacifist, chairman of the executive committee of the Fellowship, and member of the Federal Council of Churches.

The Fellowship headquarters are maintained in conjunction with the office of Mr. Eddy in the Y. M. C. A. general offices in New York City. Here is issued a vast volume of propaganda, chiefly on social, industrial and international questions and the promotion of world peace. The Fellowship circulates the literature written by the Socialists of the League for Industrial Democracy, the Fellowship joining the latter organization in the aim to eliminate "production for individual profit and power rather than for social use and service."

Admirers of Sovietism.

Among the members of the national committee of the Fellowship are nearly all the members of Federal Council of Churches, the Socialists, and other radicals who sponsored the Lane anti-military training pamphlet.

Eddy conducts annual foreign travel parties for international propaganda purposes. The party he piloted through Russia last year urged on its return that the United States accept the soviet's proposal to parley on the matter of payment of debts and claims as a prerequisite to recognition. The Coolidge administration has taken the position that recognition will not

be accorded unless the soviet government declares without bargaining its willingness to pay the Russian war debt to the United States and compensate Americans for confiscated properties.

Eddy is taking a party abroad again this summer. "The party," he announces, "will be restricted to persons in public life who will actively promote better international relations upon their return, and who, through editorial responsibility, public speaking or writing, will be able to exert wide influence on public opinion. It is requested that others do not apply for membership."

MRS. A. S. TERRILL WINS DIVORCE ON CRUELTY CHARGE

Mrs. Love Filius Terrill of the Drake hotel was granted a divorce yesterday on the grounds of cruelty from A. S. Terrill, millionaire bond broker with offices at 30 North La Salle street. She waived alimony. Terrill did not contest the suit. An out of court settlement was reported.

The couple was married in December, 1924. They separated six months later. She is 43 and he is 60 years old.

Mrs. Terrill testified before Circuit Judge George Fred Rush that shortly before their separation her husband twisted her arms and choked her while they were in the lobby of the Blackstone hotel.



R. COOPER, J^R. INVITES YOU TO SEE THE NEW GENERAL ELECTRIC REFRIGERATOR



publication of his book, "The Great Madness," but he was acquitted while the school was convicted and paid a \$3,000 fine.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is a noted pacifist and red radical, who has been arrested innumerable times for inciting disorder in labor strikes and was indicted at Chicago with the I. W. W.'s whom she was active in organizing and championing.

Names Familiar to Writs.

Thomas and Golden are Socialist party leaders. Baldwin, Ernst, Gannett, Freda Kirchwey and Dunn are classified as Socialists or near Socialists, all of them having been executive committee members of the Intercollegiate Socialist society or its successor, the League for Industrial Democracy.

Nearing, Dunn, Baldwin, Johnson, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Thomas are officers of the American Civil Liberties union, which specializes in the legal defense of radicals.

Baldwin is director of the Civil Liberties union. He served a prison sentence for refusing to obey the draft law during the war. His wife is Madeleine Z. Doty, international secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Baldwin and his wife were both identified with pacifist activities during the war, Baldwin showing the pacifists how to keep in the background in their organizations and "bore from within."

Boring Into the Churches.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation and the radical weekly, "The World Tomorrow," two interlinked institutions subsidized by the Garland fund, afford an illustration of the process by which the radicals and pacifists are boring from within the churches.

Both these institutions, together with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which is also financed in part by the Garland fund, are actively engaged in fighting measures of military preparedness for national defense.

The Fellowship for Reconciliation is largely composed of Christian Socialists of the type that was conspicuous a decade ago in the Church Socialist league and is really an organization of conscientious objectors and prospective conscientious objectors to war service if America should become involved in war. They state in their literature that "we find ourselves unable to engage" in war on the ground that war is a violation of Christian principles.

Clergymen Prominent.

Affiliated closely with the Fellowship of Reconciliation is the Committee on Militarism in Education, on the executive board of which is the Rev. Samuel M. Cavert, general secretary of the Federal Council of Churches. Other officers of the militarism committee who are connected with the Federal Council of Churches are the Rev. Reinhold Niebuhr, the Rev. E. F. Tittle, the Rev. W. Russell Bowie, the Rev. John W. Herring, Prof. Luther

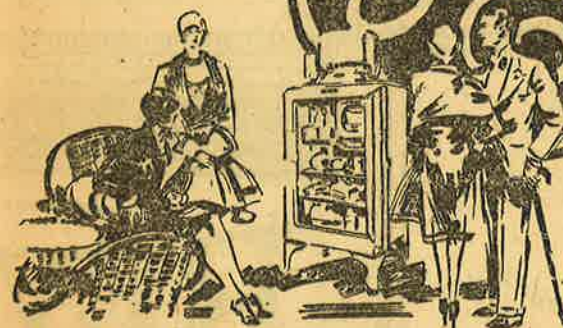
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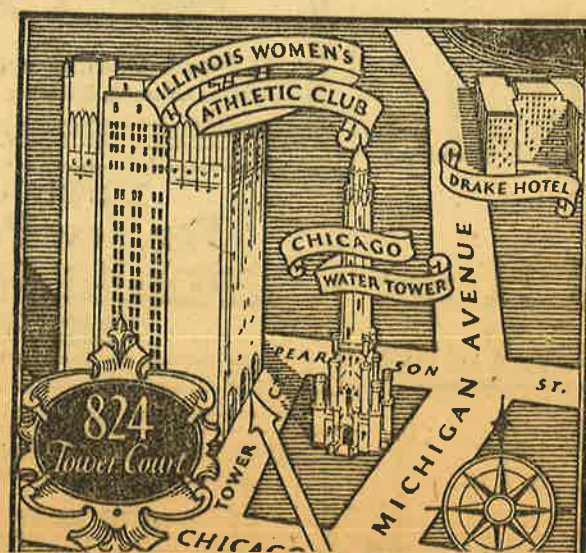
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FOR BETTER RACE RELATIONS.

Kirby Page of New York to Speak at
Grand Avenue Temple Meeting.

The sixth "race relations Sunday" will be observed tomorrow by many churches here. Ministers have been requested to stress the desirability of more friendly relations between various races in an effort to solve social and economic problems.

A public mass meeting will be at 3:15 o'clock tomorrow at the Grand Avenue temple under auspices of the Kansas City Council of Churches. The principal speaker will be Kirby Page of New York, editor of the World Tomorrow and lecturer, traveler and writer.

A luncheon in honor of Mr. Page will be at 12:15 o'clock Monday in the auditorium of the Y. M. C. A. All ministers of Greater Kansas City are invited to this luncheon.

O. J. Hill is chairman of the race relations committee of the Council of Churches.

strong case in their contention that the law regarding oil lands secured before 1917 was unconstitutional. By the abandonment of the policy of constantly holding Mexican officials under pressure, and the substitution of the sort of friendly approach which Ambassador Morrow has carried to Mexico city, it has now been made possible for Mexico herself, without loss of face, to agree to this interpretation of the law. The whole experience constitutes one of the most striking examples in modern history of the practical effectiveness of a policy of forbearance and conciliation, as contrasted with the unnecessary complications and danger produced by a policy of threatened force.

Freedom in the American College

THE NAME of the president of West Virginia university must be added to the roll of those college administrators who permit their schools to be governed by the R. O. T. C., the American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution. As told elsewhere in this issue, the Y. W. C. A. of the school had invited Mr. Kirby Page to address the students on "Intolerance" and "The Meaning of the Cross." The local R. O. T. C. officers, with the support of other bulwarks of freedom, were so successful in intimidating the president that he forbade the meeting. Fortunately a minority group of the students and the faculty were so outraged by the pusillanimity of the president that they made arrangements for a meeting off the campus which was addressed by Mr. Page. Though Admiral Rodgers had spoken at the university a few days previously on "Preparedness" the president of the institution insisted that he was opposed to the Page meetings only because they were to deal with controversial subjects and that he would be equally opposed to a discussion of the candidacy of Al Smith in college buildings. It is interesting to note that the head of this great institution of learning was honest enough to qualify his definition of a controversial subject so that it would include only that side of the subject which is unpopular with the ladies of the D. A. R. He would not, he declared, allow any meetings to which there was opposition on the part of the "respectable" citizens of the community. Such is the state of higher learning in at least one of these United States! The local patriots are now after the scalps of Miss Mary Hunter, secretary of the college Y. W. C. A. and Miss Martha Fulton, dean of women at the college, for their avowed sympathy with and support of these dangerous meetings. Anyone who is looking for martyrdom today need only espouse the cause of freedom in any one of a hundred American colleges.

A Message That Should Echo Far

NO MORE HOPEFUL EXPERIMENTS in the cultivation of international understanding are being held in this country than the dinners for foreign students now annually served in some of our larger cities. This year these gatherings, in the case of New York and Chicago, were held on Armistice day, which gave them added significance as an attempt to secure that mutual good will which shall make

future wars impossible. The dinner held in New York was largely a result of the planning of Dr. Sidney L. Gulick, the secretary of the committee on international justice and good will of the federal council of churches. It was attended by eight hundred students from other countries now enrolled in the educational institutions of New York, and was addressed by Mr. Salmon O. Levinson of Chicago. The most important event of the gathering was the receipt of a telegram from Senator Borah, who had been prevented from attending. Curiously little attention has been paid this telegram by the daily press. It read:

The day returns which recalls the sufferings and sacrifices of war and urges anew that we consider how we shall be rid of an institution which has come to dominate international affairs and to a marked degree domestic affairs. I do not believe it is possible for the human brain to devise and set up a successful plan for world peace in competition with the conceded legitimacy of war. You cannot uproot an institution so deeply grounded in the pride and passions of men and array against it the wrath of the world whose legality is conceded and whose glory is extolled. Is it not possible to devise a peace plan which will refuse to recognize war as a legitimate institution for the settlement of international disputes at any time or under any circumstances? M. Briand has suggested the first step; let us suggest the second and include Great Britain, Japan, Germany and Italy. That would furnish a real foundation for outlawing war.

It is to be hoped that the eight hundred young men and women from almost every civilized nation who heard this message will perceive its significance as the American press has not. Will public opinion allow the state department to bury the Briand proposal?

Another Labor Tragedy In Colorado

THE DARK RECORD of industrial disputes in Colorado, which has the Ludlow horror ineradicably stained upon it, is again crimsoned with blood. The storm which has been gathering for weeks has burst at a mine within thirty miles of Denver. Men have been killed by mine guards and state police. Others are in hospitals, dying. Militia is being rushed to establish martial law. What the outcome will be is beyond prophecy. The present strike in the Colorado coal fields merits careful investigation. As the facts are established The Christian Century will present them to its readers. As matters now stand, it seems clear that the refusal of the coal operators in the state to recognize the regular A. F. of L. mine union and their attempt to control their labor situation through a system of company unions have much to do with the situation. The miners plainly have not felt that the company unions offered them adequate or honest representation. Their rapidly increasing dissatisfaction has given the I. W. W. a fertile field in which to work. With the outbreak of the strike, under I. W. W. leadership, the repressive tactics followed by civil authorities and mine operators have played directly into the hands of those eager to stir up trouble. As long as the strike was controlled by I. W. W. leaders in Colorado itself, the strikers were pledged, again and again, to abstain from violence. But these leaders have been arrested by the state authorities and, without being charged

anxieties, amusements. We have need of great spaces where we can see things in their right proportions, and recover the possession of our own souls. The noises of the streets, never so insistent and un-

ceasing, infect our lives with their discord. We have need of stillness, of escape to some region where beyond these voices there is peace. It is sternly true that if in these days we are to save our souls,

we must learn to be quiet. It is just here that our great cathedrals meet our need."

Kirby Page Visits a University Town

WHAT HAPPENS when a Christian pacifist tries to speak in some American collegiate circles is vividly pictured by extracts taken from the news columns and editorial pages of the New Dominion of Morgantown, W. Va., on Nov. 9, 10 and 14. Mr. Kirby Page, editor of the World Tomorrow, and widely known author of various pacifist books, was to have spoken at the University of West Virginia under the auspices of the Y. W. C. A., when orders came from Dr. Frank B. Trotter, president of the university, to cancel the engagement. The Y. W. C. A. complied with the order.

NEWSPAPER SUPPORT

While it looked as though Mr. Page would be denied a hearing in Morgantown, even though Admiral Rogers had made a characteristic preparedness speech there a few days previously, the New Dominion, a Morgantown newspaper, took up the case editorially in this fashion:

"It is a sad commentary upon any great institution of higher learning, such as West Virginia university, that it must throttle the public address of a man whose viewpoints even a majority of the faculty and undergraduates, to say nothing of organizations and groups outside the university, may not like.

"The fact that the views of the self-styled 100 percenters cannot stand a little rostrum opposition is far more damaging than anything Mr. Page might have said. Nobody yet has ever crushed truth. If Mr. Page is wrong, his views will never prevail. If he is right, all the suppression in the world cannot kill their final victory."

At this point a group of students stepped into action, and invited Mr. Page to appear and speak at the time of his original engagement under their personal auspices. The meeting was accordingly held in a hall in the city of Morgantown, and under the chairmanship of Dean J. N. Deahl, of the college of education.

Mr. Page stayed over in Morgantown long enough to interview Dr. Trotter. The university president stated that he had caused the engagement of Mr. Page to be canceled because it would have caused turmoil and disturbance at the meeting. He named the American legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Lions club of Morgantown, and former Governor Morgan as having been instrumental in bringing him to take this action.

NO CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECTS

"I asked President Trotter," said Mr. Page as reported in the New Dominion, "if he intended to say that no man could speak at the university who was opposed by an active and influential group, and he replied that that was his position, that the university could not afford to have a turmoil made on the campus.

"I asked him further if he realized that

this position means that no controversial subject can be discussed at the university, since if the subject is controversial there are bound to be groups on both sides, and he replied that he did.

"I have no personal complaint to make of my treatment in Morgantown. I spoke and was listened to attentively and good-manneredly. Nor is it my intention to meddle in the affairs of this institution and this state, but I am wondering if the people of this state really appreciate all that the attitude of President Trotter means."

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SENATOR BORAH'S PLAN.

Some Faults Are Seen in It, but It Is
a Step Ahead.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

Kirby Page's interview with Senator Borah, on the proposed multilateral treaties, published in THE TIMES of March 25, is so illuminating that it may need no added signposts to display its meaning. Nevertheless, I feel moved to a word of comment on the real significance of the Senator's plan and attitude. The crux of the issue is, of course, the apparent incompatibility between his proposed multilateral treaties renouncing war and existing treaties whereby one nation guarantees another against attack by a pledge of armed aid in its defense.

And Mr. Borah makes it plain that, while his ideals are inconsistent with such treaties of armed guarantee, he may be prepared to accept their existence as a practical necessity of the present situation. Presumably he would even be willing, though reluctantly, to accept a form of multilateral treaty which specifically preserves the guarantee treaties now in existence.

Meanwhile, let us examine his ideals, including as evidence his objections to the present European system. He objects to fighting war with war, instead of relying solely on the "peace machinery." He objects to the implication that there are good wars and bad wars, and especially to the attempt to frame rules for distinguishing good wars from bad by defining the aggressor nation; being convinced after hours of study that it cannot be successfully done. We should naturally expect, then, that his own plan would avoid the necessity of fighting war with war and of distinguishing the aggressor. Does it do so?

Mr. Borah insists that each nation must be its own final judge, in the light of conditions at the time the emergency arises. On such a basis nations will have no trouble in deciding the question in favor of their own sympathies; any other decision will be extremely difficult. Perhaps half the nations would convict one belligerent, the other half the other. Perhaps some especially scrupulous nation might decide that both were at fault, and stand virtuously aloof, selling supplies to both sides.

Having decided this question, the nations are now free to decide what they will do about it. The attacked nation is free to do the only thing it could do in any case: resist. The others have no definite obligations. If they decide to use economic pressures, is not this a departure from neutrality and likely to lead to reprisals and to actual war? It may be necessary, in the multilateral treaties, to make provision for a state of being intermediate between war and neutrality—a state of "peaceful partiality," perhaps, or of "war on the economic plane only."

Does Mr. Borah remember that in 1914 the Germans were extremely curious what Great Britain would do if they attacked France, and that Sir Edward Grey was unable to give them an absolute statement? Even had he been able, the outcome might have been the same, but British intervention then and there lost its one chance to prevent war, and was reduced to engaging in it. It lost its chance through the very uncertainty, alias "freedom of action," which Senator Borah is so anxious to preserve. That is sometimes the result of not crossing bridges till you come to them. You may find that there is no bridge there, unless you have built it beforehand, and you fall into the abyss.

So it seems reasonable to conclude that the Borah plan is more likely to lead to an actual resort to war to suppress war, because it has less chance to prevent war before it starts, through informing the potential treaty-making nation just what treatment it may expect. Action under the Borah plan hinges on defining the aggressor nation just as much as under any other plan; it merely insures that the definition shall be made under the worst possible conditions.

Is Mr. Borah led by the "necromancy of words"? It is impossible to outlaw all violence, for the reason that law itself is violence, in the sense that it must be backed by the possibility of an ultimate appeal to force. If law forbids all violence, including its own, it ceases to be law and becomes a moral precept or a pious wish. It must always dis-

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Is Mr. Borah led by the "necromancy of words"? It is impossible to outlaw all violence, for the reason that law itself is violence, in the sense that it must be backed by the possibility of an ultimate appeal to force. If law forbids all violence, including its own, it ceases to be law and becomes a moral precept or a pious wish. It must always distinguish its own violence from that of its enemies. The outlaw is not merely a covenant breaker, he is a man at war with the forces of organized society. "Outlawry" is society's war to suppress war.

The writer does not happen to be one of those peace advocates who have nothing but condemnation for any peace program different from their own. Senator Borah is genuinely interested in the means of promoting peace. He is an honest and intelligent public servant. Anything he can accomplish, without injuring what others have already accomplished, will be so much gain.

JOHN MAURICE CLARK,
Columbia University, March 28,
1923.

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August 2, 1940

Kirby Page
La Habra, California

Dear Kirby:

I understand you are still out of jail. That's encouraging. I thought you would be interested in this release which has just been sent to the Religious Press and to the Daily Press.

I want you to know how much all of us appreciate the splendid job you are doing for peace throughout the country.

Sincerely,


Ray Newton

RN:lw

From:
American Friends Service Committee
Peace Section
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

July 26, 1940

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NATIONAL VOLUNTEER SERVICE
OFFERED BY QUAKERS

Beginning August 1, American young men and women will be given an opportunity to serve their country by volunteering for a year of civilian service. The National Volunteer Service announced today by the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., will put some of the young men to work in the reclamation of forests and impoverished farm lands. Others will work among the migratory laborers of Florida and California. Still others, after a period of training, will help with inexpensive housing projects, cooperating with government bureaus to raise the standards of living in blighted rural areas. In Mexico, among the untutored peasants of the Laguna region, American youth will continue to help build the much needed village schools and thus through creating mutual goodwill help toward greater cooperation with our neighbors to the south.

Many others will be placed in public welfare institutions and private agencies which seek to find solutions to our complex social and industrial problems.

The Quaker Committee will be continuing its large scale relief in Europe and other stricken parts of the world. Some of the volunteers may be selected and trained for overseas service with the Quaker units aiding refugees and civilian war-victims. As an end comes to destruction it may be possible to rebuild devastated villages and restore ruined farms with the aid of these volunteers.

Many channels of service not now foreseen will open as this program goes forward. Insofar as the work projects apply to problems faced by state and federal bureaus, the volunteers will work in collaboration with these authorities and make use of their facilities. Other projects will deal with local and community problems. The Federal Forest Service and several State Forest Commissions have assured the American Friends Service Committee that they will welcome the volunteers as workers in the forests.

Times of national and international crises always bring to the surface the latent desire for significant, even dangerous service. Some volunteer in the violent destructive processes of war. From their beginning, almost three hundred years ago, the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) have refused to participate in war regardless of the reasons given for waging it.

They have pinned their faith in a way of life which sought to overcome evil with good, hatred with love, and fear with friendliness.

In the present period of soul searching, leaders and youth in many religious groups have asked the Friends if the volunteer service which they have carried on for many years could not be greatly expanded. Many of the young men and women of America are unwilling to take part in war which they believe to be both un-Christian and futile. They are however willing to endure hardship, and if necessary death in the service of their fellowmen and God. If permitted to, many of them will undertake any non-military service anywhere - the harder and the more dangerous the better. The call for enrollment states the Service is designed "for young people of all faiths and denominations who, rooted in the principles of religious freedom of conscience, will dedicate themselves to one year's voluntary service for the public good, to strengthen our nation and democracy through self-discipline and self-sacrifice and to express the highest ideals of Christian patriotism, by engaging in constructive and peace-creating service for the state and our fellow men." The applicant must agree to serve anywhere, at any task assigned him.

For many years the Quakers have emphasized the significance of volunteer service in fields of social betterment and international relations. They have anticipated the day in which free people might have to submerge their freedom in order to preserve it by creating channels through which young

people with conscientious scruples could engage in public services within the scope of their ideals. The National Volunteer Service will be a consolidation of existing projects well established by the Service Committee.

Each volunteer will be expected to enroll for a full year's service and to provide, if possible, his own expenses. Obviously, many cannot afford the burden of self-support while working without pay. These, it is hoped, will be financed by their churches, interested groups, and concerned individuals. Contributions from individuals, churches and organizations will be needed to defray the maintenance costs of volunteers who cannot support themselves. It has been the Committee's experience that this method of financing volunteer workers greatly strengthens the significance of the service. The cost will be one dollar a day a person.

Although the National Volunteer Service will be administered by the American Friends Service Committee, a national advisory board representing various denominations and affiliated organizations will relate the service to religious and peace groups throughout the United States. It will be the expression of America's will to explore the relation of religion to democracy and, possibly, to find ways of serving the state in times of national crisis within the framework of civil life and without denial of conscientious scruples.

To whom is this service open? Young men and women rooted in the religious

faith that good will and Christian love are powers to overcome violence and hate should find it a channel through which they can be used. It appeals to those whose conscience will not permit them to serve in armed forces or otherwise contribute to the progress of war; yet are earnestly seeking outlets for their energies to aid mankind and to preserve our democratic institutions. The National Volunteer Service offers no easy alternative to the grim realities of our day. On the contrary, it will put its man-power in the forefront of difficult tasks. The workers will be called to serve without recompense or honor. Nevertheless such service will have its rich rewards in spiritual satisfactions and human fellowship with others who share the visions of a cooperative society. The opportunities for work may become gateways to high adventure. Certainly they will require spiritual and physical fortitude.

Immediate plans call for establishing a year 'round work camp at Coopers-town, New York. Enrollment is now open, and operations will begin August 1. Two other camps in this country, one probably in the Middle West and the other probably in the Far West, and a camp in the Laguna region of Mexico will be opened by October 1. Enrollment for all these camps are now being received. Other camps will follow in rapid succession as enrollment warrants them.

Inquiries for literature and applications for service should be addressed

to NATIONAL VOLUNTEER SERVICE, American Friends Service Committee,
20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia. It is hoped that the service
will be in part a solution to the problem so many young people face
in trying to find an outlet for services the nation needs.

* * * * *

for several hundred years; but we'd rather be unbalanced, tipping on the edge of a crag, than to jog along and not mount upward. We might be better balanced if we'd be content to let this nation live in the rut of isolation in which we've always lived; but some of us would rather die. We want our nation to go up and not jog along. We'd rather dare, go out into the forum where other nations foregather, feel the thrill of Germany's entrance into the League, hear the swelling words of Briand, as if they were addressed to us as well as other people, and not sit on the outside seeking an illusory path of safety. We'd rather try the

new. Robert Louis Stevenson, with a sick body and a wholesome soul, cried almost with his dying breath, "Live dangerously." No wonder they buried him on the highest hill in Samoa. That's where he belonged.

What the hills give us then, to sum it all up, is aspiration, divine discontent, and this is salvation. Jesus said it was, for as soon as a poor greedy tax-gatherer one day formed a new resolution for a fine generous life, under the inspiration of that divine presence, Jesus said, "This day is salvation come to this house."

Mussolini—Menace to Peace

By Kirby Page

AS A RESULT of a brief stay in Rome and Florence and the reading I have done, I have reached the following conclusions with regard to the existing situation in Italy:

First, the Fascisti must be given credit for restoring and maintaining public order. It will be recalled that following the Armistice there was the utmost chaos and anarchy throughout Italy. Many demobilized soldiers were unable to find employment. There was extreme dissatisfaction with the peace treaty and great resentment against the government for consenting to what was regarded as rank injustice to Italy. In many sections there were disturbances by Communists and in numerous places they seized public buildings, industrial plants, and attempted to gain control of the government. It was during this period that Mussolini and his bands of Fascisti began counter assaults on the revolutionaries. The Communists were divided and disorganized and unable to administer local government or operate factories. The ranks of the Fascisti swelled rapidly and soon they were in control of many municipalities. The central government became weaker and weaker and was unable to resist the march on Rome in October, 1922. Whereupon the King invited Mussolini to form a government. Since that time Mussolini has ruled with an iron hand and has preserved public order to a marked degree.

BUDGET BALANCED

Second, the Fascist Government has balanced the national budget and has helped to restore prosperity. It is true that the lira has depreciated considerably in value and is still falling, and that the standard of life in Italy is lower than in most other countries, yet the financial and economic achievements of the Fascists are real and substantial. At present the country is in a relatively prosperous condition.

The third claim of the Fascists is that they have abolished industrial warfare and the class struggle.

Through the new ministry of corporations, the state is assuming drastic control of the entire productive process of the country. Only Fascist trade unions are legally qualified to make collective agreements. Compulsory arbitration is required. Industrial disputes that cannot be settled by employers and workers must be submitted to the decision of labor magistrates, who are appointed by the state. Strikes and lockouts are made criminal offenses.

Fourth, whatever beneficial results may have been achieved by the Fascisti have been accomplished by dictatorship and violence. Forty-two million Italians are now being ruled by one individual. Mussolini is not only prime minister but also secretary of war, secretary of the navy, secretary of aviation, secretary of foreign affairs, and secretary of corporations. The power of the central government has been greatly extended and everywhere the Fascists are in control. On numerous occasions Mussolini has expressed contempt for democracy and parliamentary procedure, and has repeatedly defended dictatorship as the only effective form of government. Freedom of the press has been abolished and strict censorship installed. Severe restrictions have been placed on the right of organization and association. Labor is at the complete mercy of the government. Mussolini came into power through violence and has maintained himself in office by ruthless and relentless action against his opponents. He not only resorts to violence, he publicly defends its use. No opposition is tolerated. Most of his opponents have been assassinated or exiled.

"MOST DANGEROUS MAN"

My fifth conclusion is that Mussolini is at this moment the most dangerous man in high official position anywhere in the world. One cannot question his extraordinary ability as a leader nor his wide popularity in many circles. But he is reckless

That's why he can be called a fool. But for me his words mean nothing. I know better, because I know what is in my own consciousness, and God is there. That's the only place He is. He has made me in His image, or I have made Him in mine. It's all the same. He may be only what we call an idea, but that makes no difference because the idea is there, in my consciousness. There is a seeing eye and so the landscape and God exist. A man says to me, "I don't believe in the divinity of Christ, or the deity of Christ." His words mean nothing because truth is not to be found in words, but only in consciousness. If he has not felt the dominance of the Christ in his own inner consciousness I cannot thrust that feeling upon him by any words that I may use. Neither can he add to or take from the consciousness that is in my own soul of the regnant Jesus by any formulas that he may use or any denials that he may make concerning what I believe and do not believe.

So just as it is with the hills and me, a matter of the seeing eye for the swelling landscape, so is it between God and me, a matter of my consciousness and His existence. Those snowy summits, those gorges with rushing torrents have entered into my soul, they are my inalienable possessions, a part of my being. The poets are after all the best philosophers and have put into delicate speech the things so hard to say. What they have seen with their acute consciousness, what has entered into their very being, what they can recall by imagination and memory, these they know are the most real things in the world. Thus Wordsworth sings of the field of daffodils and concludes:

"And oft as on my couch I lie,
In vacant or in pensive mood,
They flash upon that inward eye
That is the bliss of solitude."

Or Carruth singing of the nameless yearning which comes to him in the moonlight at the ocean's rim exclaims, "Some call it aspiration and others call it God." No matter what you call it just so you have it, the yearning, the longing, the aspiration, the upward look, this is what the hills impart to us. This is how they help us.

And God knows we need help, for who is strong enough to live his life with no outside aid. Outside? Haven't I just finished saying that nothing really exists that is outside of us? True. Only the limitations of language force us to speak of outside things. Our loves, our companionships, our heavens of ecstasy and our hells of fear and despair, they all are within and not without. God himself and the hills which represent Him in their mystery, their loneliness, and their strength, have no valid and vital existence for you and me except as they live inside of us and not outside.

STRENGTH

So this outside help that everyone needs to lead this so, so difficult life is after all inside. To be of any value to us at all it must spring from within. To be then more specific, the hills pour into us their strength. It is well known that mountain races are rugged people. The Scotch kilties were to the Germans, "Ladies from hell". I saw a film the other night called "Grass" which sets forth the migration twice every year of a nation fifty thousand strong called the Bakhtiari from one side of a mountain range to the other twelve thousand feet high, over swollen rivers and trackless snow. Men, women, children, flocks and herds. It is nothing less than epic, heroic in its grandeur; and the grandest thing about it is the indomitable soul of man. We speak of the strength of the hills and we speak advisedly, they are founded on the rocks, they are everlasting; and what they do to the atmosphere, the thought of them can do for us. Their rushing water cleanses, their rarified air expands, and the clear sun invigorates. They act like radium and like a magnetic current on our natures. How do they do it? That we don't know; they just do. The doctors don't know how their remedies help, how serums and vaccines work; all they know is, they just do. Somehow, for mystery is the essence of the mountains, God and the hills pour their strength into us who so badly need it.

Then, they give us courage, courage to go barefoot through the snows of life, courage to cross ice cold streams, courage to battle on, though tired out, sick, afraid, puzzled and lost. They inspire us, give us what we call our second breath, enable us to burst through the margin of fatigue and so somehow arise, arrive, survive.

PROGRESS

Further, to look up at the hills brings progress. We can stay on the dull dead levels of the plains, on the beaten paths and in the well worn ruts if we care to do so; but if we do we shall pay for it with the dead monotony of our lives, our thoughts and our inner qualities. It is an easy thing to jog along the low road. It's a hard thing to take the upper road. But who wants to do the easy thing? The hills of life challenge us. We don't want to stay where we are, but we want to rise. It is so easy to live always where we are, to do always what we have done, and to do it in the same way that we've always done it. Perhaps it would often be wiser if some of us could be content with things just as the fathers have given them to us and have done them for us, but by the very nature of the hill-born we cannot rest content. We must mount up or die. We might be better balanced if we would conduct this church conventionally, as churches have been conducted

EL PROGRAMA SOCIALISTA Y EL PROGRAMA COMUNISTA.

Por Xibry Page.

¿quién vendrá a ser el amo de nuestros recursos económicos? Esta es la pregunta primordial que en asuntos sociales nos confronta. La respuesta dada por quienes sostienen el capitalismo es clara y concisa: los propietarios privados y los accionistas deben de controlar la industria. Sobre ésta premisa se ha erigido un sistema económico que confiere un vasto poder en las manos de un pequeño grupo de financieros e industriales. El Profesor Gardiner Means de la Universidad de Columbia ha calculado que las 200 más grandes corporaciones en los Estados Unidos controlan más de una tercera parte de la riqueza de los negocios de la nación, y que éstas 200 corporaciones están así mismas controladas por 2,000 directores. Estos hombres, por la combinación de directorios y consejos de administración entrelazados, ejercen también enorme influencia sobre innumerables otras corporaciones, y tienen mucho qué decir con respecto a los niveles relativos de los dividendos y de los jornales.

El Profesor Slichter de Harvard, en un notable artículo en "The Atlantic Monthly", ha condensado la evidencia en el sentido de que en 1930 los dividendos pagados por las corporaciones de los Estados Unidos fueron un 65% más altos que en el año de la prosperidad de 1928, mientras los jornales descendieron en un 19% durante el mismo período. Aquellos en control de las industrias habían acumulado reservas para pagos de dividendos, pero no habían hecho estipulación análoga para los salarios. Es así como el lujo extravagante y la extrema pobreza se encuentran lado a lado.

Este minoría ejerce también una influencia incalculable en la política y en las modalidades de la opinión pública, a través de el dominio de la prensa, de el radio y de el cine. Sus miembros ocupan curules de poder en las cámaras educativas y religiosas. Aun cuando sea exagerado expresar que 57 hombres rigen a éste país, no cabe duda alguna que los 100,000 miembros más ricos de la sociedad, o sea un décimo de el 1% de la población esgrimen un poder incommensurable.

Los socialistas pretenden que ésta excesiva concentración de el privilegio y de el poder es injustificada e intolerable. Se busca una sociedad en la que llegue a haber una igualdad aproximada de riqueza e ingreso, aunque no exista un nivel de remuneración absolutamente constante. Los socialistas argumentan que el vasto abismo que actualmente separa los que están saciados de los que están hambrientos debe de ser unido por el puente en torno del cual se eleve el nivel de bienestar de los de abajo y se limite radicalmente el ingreso y el privilegio de los de arriba. Es decir, vislumbran una sociedad sin clases en que los extremos de la riqueza y de las ganancias hayan desaparecido.

Al buscar cómo ha de removerse la amenaza del poder monetario consolidado y como ha de igualarse el privilegio, los socialistas proponen dar nueve pasos, inmediatos y definitivos. La más urgente de éstas medidas es el auxilio directo de los sin trabajo. De 20 a 30 millones de gentes en los Estados Unidos viven ahora en familias que cruelmente son víctimas de la falta de trabajo involuntario. La necesidad están honda que las asociaciones de caridad son incapaces de proveer a ella adecuadamente, y numerosos municipios han llegado al límite de su capacidad de contribuciones y de préstamos. Inmensas sumas

deben presupuestarse por el Ministerio de Hacienda atendiendo a las imperiosas demandas a fin de evitar el hambre y la muerte por alimentación deficiente durante las depresiones más serias. Los socialistas están opuestos en principio a la caridad, pero el fracaso del capitalismo es tan completo, que no pueden ponerse oportunamente en práctica otras medidas para aliviar la presente crisis.

La segunda medida sugerida por los socialistas es un programa nacional de seguro social. Los riesgos inevitables de una civilización industrial, deben ser compartidos por la sociedad más bien que dejarlos que amenacen a la víctima individualmente. Deben de tomarse en seguida las medidas que establezcan un sistema nacional de seguros que comprendan la salud, los accidentes de trabajo, la falta de empleo, la senilidad, y la maternidad, y que éste programa cuente con fuertes subsidios de los Estados y de la Federación.

En tercer lugar, debe de efectuarse una rápida y drástica extensión de los privilegios públicos en lo que concierne a la salud, a la recreación, a la cultura y a la educación. Debe de possibilitarse a todos - que a través de la canalización y distribución de fondos públicos, disfruten más y más de los privilegios de la vida.

La actual emergencia requiere emisiones de bonos por parte de el Estado en una escala muy regular a fin de proveer fondos para el fomento de las obras públicas, dando así trabajo y efectuando a la vez empresas socialmente ventajosas, incluyendo caminos, reforestación, irrigación, control del curso de las aguas de los ríos y plantas de energía hidro-eléctrica. La construcción de casas por cuenta de los municipios en vasta escala es indispensable, y al proceder a ello se absorbería un considerable número de gentes sin trabajo. Una nación que puede suscribir 20 mil millones de dólares en emisiones de bonos para fines de guerra, puede y debe emitir bonos hasta 5 o 10 mil millones para el doble fin de proveer trabajo y hacer posible facilidades para la reconstrucción y liberación de la sociedad.

Los socialistas consideran que las contribuciones deben de considerarse como un arma de programa social que se aplique deliberadamente y con resolución a romper el dominio estrangulador de la gran riqueza, a la vez que provea los fondos necesarios con los que se haga posible ~~que los privilegios y ventajas~~ ^{que los privilegios y ventajas} los ciudadanos en general. Los impuestos deben usarse con rigor. Si los socialistas tuviesen el control político, sería posible gravar las fracciones superiores de los capitales manifestados, en forma tan fuerte, que ningún individuo pudiera recibir legalmente un ingreso mayor que el de el límite fijado - digamos unos \$ 25,000 o \$ 10,000 o aún menos. Sería así mismo posible a través de los impuestos sobre las herencias recoger una finca más allá del límite legal, quizás de \$ 100,000 o \$ 25,000 o menos. Las contribuciones sobre capital rústico y urbano deberían de imponerse de modo que el gravamen sobre las pequeñas propiedades fuese levantado y se consumiese, en cambio, el incremento no ganado que surge de el aumento de los valores de bienes raíces. Están disponibles también varios impuestos sobre artículos de lujo, y de exceso que pudieran aplicarse con efectividad. Por ésta combinación de contribuciones, los ingresos podrían ser revolucionados dentro de dos años y la riqueza redistribuida dentro de dos generaciones. Este último proceso puede acelerarse recurriendo al embargo de capitales, si ésto fuere deseable.

La extensión progresiva de la propiedad pública y de la operación colectiva de las tierras, de los recursos naturales, de las empresas de luz y fuerza y de las industrias básicas es uno de los pivotes del

programa Socialista. Actualmente en los Estados Unidos, las siguientes industrias están ya "maduras" para la nacionalización: los bancos, - la fuerza hidráulica, las minas de carbón, los teléfonos y telégrafos, y varias otras compañías de servicios públicos. Los socialistas eliminarían las ganancias privadas por entero de estas industrias, y tan rápidamente como la experiencia lo justificase extenderían el control y funcionamiento público a otros engranes importantes que constituyen los medios de producción y distribución.

El adelanto en cualquiera de estas direcciones posibilitará planear el programa social en una escala efectiva. El impulso de la ganancia privada, el método de la competencia, y la teoría del laissez-faire -- la médula espinal y el sistema nervioso del capitalismo -- hacen que sea imposible implantar un programa social adecuado. Nada que no sea el socialismo avanzado proveerá satisfactoriamente a la producción y distribución reglamentada.

El noveno paso propuesto por los socialistas es la eliminación de la amenaza del militarismo, del imperialismo y de los arranques chauvinistas. Esto evitaría las fortunas y depósitos de guerra y pondría término a las ventajas ilícitas del imperialismo, llegándose a la destrucción del sistema de las guerras. El Partido Socialista es completamente pacifista y a favor del desarme completo por mutuo acuerdo o por el ejemplo. Se opone a la intervención armada en otros países, y está en pro de el retiro de nuestras fuerzas militares de Haití, Nicaragua, China y otros países extranjeros. Esta compromiso a favor de la independencia inmediata de las Islas Filipinas.

Los socialistas reconocen la imperiosa necesidad de una triple organización de trabajadores, consumidores y votantes, como medio de realizar una revolución pacífica en la distribución de el privilegio y de el poder. A éste fin debe llegarse tomando en cuenta que es de capital importancia fortalecer el Partido Socialista.

El método comunista de llegar a la meta de una sociedad sin clases es a través de una guerra de clases. A la consciencia de clase, el partido comunista añade odio de clase y lucha de clases. La conquista del poder por la violencia y el establecimiento de la dictadura del proletariado se consideran necesarios por los comunistas. "La clase capitalista", escribe William Z. Foster, candidato Comunista a la Presidencia, "como vampiro insaciable, se adhiere al cuerpo de las masas trabajadoras, y solo por la fuerza podrá ser desprendido Son los partidos Comunistas de otros países, guiados por la Internacional Comunista y apoyados por las masas, los que lanzarán el golpe mortal al capitalismo mundial.... A fin de poner término al sistema capitalista se necesitará un acto conscientemente revolucionario la clase laborante no puede en sí misma llegar al poder sin la guerra civil ... la dictadura proletaria debe ser apoyada por el poder organizado de los trabajadores con armas, así como por el ejército, la policía local, &c. En las primeras etapas de la revolución, quizás aún antes de haberse apoderado del control, los trabajadores organizarán la Guardia Roja. - Más después esta corporación construida un tanto libremente se desarrollará en el sólido, bien disciplinado y estrictamente organizado Ejército Rojo." Es decir, el partido Comunista propone usar los métodos militares en su propósito de crear una sociedad sin clases.

El partido Comunista no circunscribe su hostilidad nada más al capitalismo. Es también implacable en sus ataques al partido Socialista. El órgano del partido Comunista "El Diario del Trabajador", es venenoso en sus diatribas contra Norman Thomas y otros Socialistas. William Z. Foster es más moderado, pero aún el no hace por esquivar sus puñe-

tales, como podrá verse en estas palabras: "Los partidos socialistas del mundo son los partidos tibios del capitalismo... Son parte de la maquinaria capitalista para arrebatarse el pan de las bocas de los obreros y de sus familias, son la principal barrera para llegar a la revolución.... El partido Socialista apuñalea a las clases trabajadoras por la espalda." Michael Gold, otro de los más prominentes comunistas americanos dice: "Pídanse unas cuantas razones sobre el por qué los comunistas se oponen a los socialistas y a los pacifistas. Expongo la principal razón; éstos dos grupos son los que enervan, traicionan y desvían a la clase trabajadora. Son el obstáculo final que las clases trabajadoras deben salvar, la debilidad final que debe curarse, extirpándola como un cáncer, antes de que los obreros puedan asumir el poder... El pacifismo está siempre contra la clase trabajadora, con palabras y con hechos.... El Socialismo pacifista facilita siempre el camino para el fascismo... El Pacifismo es una defensa del status quo."

El partido Comunista propone, si logra por la violencia capturar el control de la sociedad, suprimir implacablemente toda la oposición, incluyendo el partido socialista. Escuchemos otra vez al Sr. Foster: - "Bajo la dictadura, todos los partidos capitalistas (Republicano, Demócrata, Progresista, Socialista, etc.) serán liquidados, y el partido Comunista funcionará sólo como el partido de las masas trabajadoras.. que e estupidez sería si los trabajadores victoriosos, cuya finalidad es eliminar todas las clases, permitieran que éstos elementos contrarrevolucionarios se organizaran a sí mismos en partidos políticos capacitándolos así para asediar al nuevo régimen, para luchar por la reanudación de sus sistema de robo a los trabajadores y generalmente actuar como una barrera para el progreso de la nueva sociedad... Las escuelas religiosas serán abolidas y la educación religiosa organizada para los menores será prohibida. La libertad se establecerá para toda clase de propaganda anti-religiosa Dios será eliminado de los laboratorios así como de las escuelas."

El partido Comunista de la Rusia Soviet está considerado como el ideal por los comunistas americanos. Estos infieren que la estrategia por la cual el viejo régimen de Rusia fué derrocado será efectiva en los Estados Unidos. Los socialistas, sin embargo, consideran que ésta es una mera suposición falaz y altamente peligrosa. Los últimos señalan que la oposición al bolshévismo en Rusia fué relativamente débil, debido al colapso completo del czarismo bajo el peso intolerable de la guerra y de siglos de corrupción y de tiranía. En los Estados Unidos, sin embargo, la oposición a la conquista comunista del poder será tremenda por un periodo indefinido en el futuro. La idea de que el capitalismo en éste país esté afectado de convulsiones agónicas es absurda. Una revolución comunista empujaría instantáneamente a los Estados Unidos a los brazos del fascismo, y el levantamiento sería sofocado despiadadamente por las tropas del ejército y de los estados, reforzadas por guardias pagadas y voluntarios patriotas. Las armas a disposición de la clase propietaria probarían ser aniquiladoras.

Aún si los comunistas tienen éxito en llevar a la sedición a una parte de los elementos del ejército y de la marina, se requeriría una prolongada guerra civil antes que la dictadura del proletariado pudiera establecerse firmemente. La clase media en éste país constituye una porción considerable de la población entera. Los agricultores pequeños dueños de sus casas forman también una parte muy significativa de la nación. Imaginarnos que los moradores de la clase media y los rancheros mantengan su apoyo tras de una revolución comunista es puro

romanticismo y carece absolutamente de base real. La intención de provocar a los doce millones de negros en este país para que participen en una violenta guerra de clases está preñada de infinitas posibilidades de tragedia. El sur blanco pelearía hasta el último reducto antes de que se sometiera a una dictadura de la raza de color. Sin embargo - Mr. Foster expresa - "... el derecho de propia determinación será aplicable a los negros en el sistema Soviet de Estados Unidos. En la llamada Zona Negra de el Sur, donde los negros están en mayoría y tendrán el más completo derecho para gobernarse a sí mismos, así como también las minorías blancas que radiquen en esta sección."

Aún bajo las más favorables condiciones, los comunistas no podrían ganar sino hasta después de meses y quizás años de sangrienta guerra civil. Los efectos de tal conflicto serían espantosos, sin exageración. Los Estados Unidos se encuentran actualmente muy industrializados y urbanizados. Su pueblo no puede proseguir su vida excepto por el funcionamiento acorde de un intrincado sistema delicadamente ajustado para efectuar las funciones de producción y la distribución de los productos. La guerra civil prolongada resultaría en hambruna, además de el aniquilamiento de multitud de seres que morirían con gases venenosos y otras armas devastadoras de la guerra moderna.

En consecuencia, los socialistas, rechazan por completo el método comunista de la revolución violenta no sólo por consideración pragmática, sino también por cuestión de ética. El esfuerzo para crear por la violencia una sociedad sin clases en este país dentro de las tres o cuatro décadas próximas es simplemente fantástico y es totalmente innecesario procurarlo. En un tiempo mucho más corto, los métodos sostenidos por el partido Socialista nos adelantarán mucho por el camino hacia una sociedad con equidad y sin clases que funcionará bajo este principio: "CADA QUIEN DE CONFORME A SUS APTITUDES, Y CADA QUIEN RECIBA CONFORME A SUS NECESIDADES." Seguramente que es mucho más fácil y deseable convencer a los Estados Unidos que adopten el programa socialista, a que intenten la revolución por medio de la violencia.

De "El Programa y Plan del Socialismo".
FALCON PRESS.- New York.- 1932.

El enemigo supremo del Cristianismo

POR HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

(No es el Budismo, ni el Mahomestimo. Lo es el Nacionalismo estrecho y egoísta).

El Cristianismo desde hace mucho tiempo se ha venido preocupando del nacionalismo. Leed, en el capítulo 16 del libro de los Actos de los Apóstoles cómo Pablo ha estado predicando en Macedonia. Desde el Asia Menor ha cruzado hacia Europa. Ese acto, es, desde luego, uno de los grandes acontecimientos de la historia del mundo, porque en tal ocasión, el Cristianismo por primera vez invadía el mundo occidental. Aquella vez el Cristianismo fué afrontado por el nacionalismo, como lo ha sido también después. «Estos hombres», dijeron los enemigos de Pablo en Filipos, «siendo judíos, alborotan la ciudad y predicán ritos que no nos es lícito recibir, ni hacer, pues que somos romanos». Ciertamente ¡romanos! Ese ataque, como lo véis, no partió desde el baluarte de una religión distinta; partió desde las trincheras de un nacionalismo opositor. Aquellos antiguos patriotas comprendieron instintivamente, que si deseaban ser romanos en el estricto sentido de la palabra, tenían que oponerse al Cristianismo.

Antes de continuar cuidémosnos de que no surja algún mal entendido. Cada hombre, se pertenece a su propia familia; ella es el centro de su afecto y devoción. Esta sin igual adhesión a su familia, expresada en forma justa, resulta bella. Porque yo he amado mucho a mi madre, comprendo perfectamente el amor de otros seres hacia su madre. Porque amo a mis hijos comprendo perfectamente la enorme honra que se le concede al hombre al dársele el privi-

legio de ser padre. Por eso el hogar, es un abrigo dulce, a su calor surgen cosas muy bellas: afectos, simpatías, anhelos, devociones, que pueden más tarde transplantarse y aplicarse para el bien de la humanidad.

Ese es el significado intenso de un nacionalismo puro. Ninguna nación puede

llegar a constituir para nosotros lo que la nuestra. Allí en la nuestra están las raíces de nuestra herencia, y ella constituye el centro de nuestras lealtades. Del mismo modo que nosotros amamos a nuestra patria, podemos comprender que haya otros seres que amen también la suya. Tomemos en cuenta, entonces, que el nacionalismo tiene dos significados: uno bueno, el otro, malo.

La verdad fundamental es que el dogma del nacionalismo, tal como se ha desarrollado en estos últi-

EXTRACTO DE UNA CARTA QUE
LOS DIRECTORES DE ESTA REVISTA
HAN RECIBIDO DEL EMINENTE
MINISTRO EVANGELICO, DR.
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«Aprecio hondamente la amigable y bondadosa carta que Uds. me escribieron. Ustedes tienen plena libertad para usar mis artículos míos que ustedes consideren provechosos para «Mundo Ideal». Soy gran amigo del Dr. Kirby Page, otro de vuestros colaboradores, y admiro la revista que él mismo publica. Estimo que una revista de la calidad de la que ustedes dirigen hará mucho bien a la Iglesia en Chile.

Deseándoles muchas felicidades y éxito en sus irabajos, me suscribo de Uds.
Cordialmente»



mos siglos ha llegado a ser una especie de religión competidora frente al Cristianismo. Creo que es el enemigo más grande del Cristianismo, en la actualidad. El conflicto central no gira alrededor del Cristianismo y el Budismo o el Mahometismo, sino entre el Cristianismo y el nacionalismo. A menos que uno observe con atención ese conflicto no verá la situación con claridad.

He aquí los tres puntos fundamentales del credo nacionalista:

Primero: Toda nación es soberana; no reconoce dominio sobre sí. Si sus intereses exigen que declare una guerra, puede hacerlo, por cuanto ella es soberana. Es libre y no es dominada por nadie, siendo por na-

LA NUEVA DEMOCRACIA

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LA NUEVA DEMOCRACIA

254 Fourth Avenue

New York, N. Y.

La Esencia y los Peligros del Fascismo

Por KIRBY PAGE

UNA de las objeciones que con más frecuencia se le hacen al pacifismo en la lucha de clases se basa en el supuesto de que en última instancia la única oposición que se le puede hacer al fascismo es por medio de las armas. Este argumento no toma en consideración el hecho de que hasta ahora no ha habido país en que se haya resistido al fascismo con éxito por medio de la violencia: ni en Italia, ni en Alemania, ni en Austria. El fascismo es la resultante del colapso económico y del sufrimiento intenso, acompañados de la frustración y de la amargura nacionales. La emergencia del fascismo es improbable excepto como resultado de una derrota abrumadora después de una guerra, o de una desilusión terrible con respecto al resultado de una guerra.

Así, tres factores produjeron el hitlerismo en Alemania: una miseria espantosa; un odio intenso contra Francia y un profundo resentimiento contra el gobierno alemán que aceptó el tratado de Versalles y la continuación del pago de las indemnizaciones de guerra; una desesperación del futuro bajo el gobierno existente. También se tiene que subrayar la importancia del elemento tiempo. Hitler no llegó al triunfo a los cinco años de esclavitud alemana, ni a los diez. Aun después de una década de degradación y agonía, el pueblo alemán habría rechazado a Hitler, si los Aliados tan sólo cancelan las indemnizaciones de guerra, y si borran del tratado la cláusula de culpabilidad única, y si dan pasos siquiera lentos, hacia el desarme, y si dan muestras de voluntad de restaurarle a Alemania su categoría de igual entre las grandes potencias. Año tras año, las masas alemanas sufrieron y esperaron, hasta ya no poder más bajo la carga del año décimo cuarto, teniendo en

tonces que aceptar la alternativa chauvinista y desesperada que se les presentó en el hitlerismo.

Estos considerandos les son de significación muy grande a los socialistas americanos. El fascismo es una posibilidad amenazante en los Estados Unidos, y bien puede convertirse en realidad horrorosa, si los Estados Unidos salen derrotados en alguna guerra, o si en la actual emergencia el colapso económico llega a ser tal que las masas de la población se vean sujetas a hambre y miseria que hasta aquí no han experimentado. En cualquiera de estas dos eventualidades, las clases gobernantes quedarán recurrir a la dictadura bajo alguna forma de fascismo...

Antes de seguir adelante, será bueno advertir que es muy conveniente evitar el uso ambiguo del término "fascismo". Los radicales han de abstenerse de esa práctica tan común entre los reaccionarios, a saber, la de incluir sin distinción bajo una misma categoría a grupos de filosofías sociales contradictorias: comunistas, socialistas, anarquistas, pacifistas, etc. En los Estados Unidos habrá quien rechace el programa de Roosevelt, y que aun lo considere peligroso; pero la confusión subirá de punto si se identifica dicho programa con la policía de Hitler, o la de Mussolini.

Los elementos peligrosos del fascismo

Los elementos peligrosos del fascismo, elementos contra los que hay que estar siempre en guardia, son los siguientes:

(1) La captura violenta del gobierno por los conservadores, con objeto de proteger la propiedad privada y demás intereses creados; o bien, la llegada al poder de esos mismos conservadores por medio del sufragio, con la mira de liquidar después las instituciones par-

lamentarias, y establecer un gobierno dictatorial.

(2) El repudio de la democracia, y la supresión de los opositores por la fuerza, disolviendo todos los partidos políticos, y suprimiendo los derechos de expresión oral, de prensa y de asamblea.

(3) La supresión violenta de las organizaciones obreras, proclamando la doctrina de que el régimen existente protegerá los intereses de los trabajadores.

(4) La insistencia, por medio de la imposición de penas severas, en que todos los ciudadanos se subordinen al Estado totalitario, dominador de toda esfera de la vida.

Así es que, cuando, en términos estrictos, hablamos de la amenaza fascista, estamos hablando del tipo de sistema social que acabamos de describir. El peligro de la emergencia de semejante orden de cosas en los Estados Unidos es real, pero no inminente, a menos que la nación salga derrotada en guerra, o a menos que el capitalismo se desmorone por completo.

Verdad obvia se dirá al decir que las fuerzas del radicalismo en los Estados Unidos son ahora demasiado débiles para impedir el colapso del sistema actual, aun cuando tuvieran el deseo de impedirlo, y que, por otra parte, son demasiado impotentes para capturar el poder, en caso de que el capitalismo se viniera abajo en un futuro inmediato. Esto es, que el destino del capitalismo estadounidense durante los próximos diez años, no está en manos de los comunistas, ni de los socialistas. Los radicales no pueden destruir rápidamente el sistema en existencia, y, hoy con hoy, pueden hacer muy poco para conservarlo en existencia. Por tanto, sería el colmo de la locura que los socialistas de los Estados Unidos adoptaran una estrategia de corto

otra parte el dicho de cierto investigador: "¡Pobre psicología! Su estado es realmente deplorable. Primero perdió el alma; en seguida, la mente; después, la consciencia; y ahora lo único que le queda es el comportamiento (behaviour) y en cuanto a éste mejor será no me neallo."

Sean, también al punto, los experimentos bien autenticados del eminente embriólogo alemán Driesch, que indican que los organismos animales no se desarrollan *more mechanico*. Driesch ha podido forzar a un huevo que ordinariamente produciría un solo organismo, a producir dos y aun ciento de criaturas completas de tamaño menor. Resultados objetivos como éstos arguyen, que tal parece, contra la predeterminación mecánica de la vida. Y en pro de una vista autonómica, vitalista, si se quiere, que parecé más factible que la que predica una mera combinación de eventos simples de tipo inorgánico. Esto es, que las hipótesis que, como el darwinismo y el lamareckianismo, abandonan a la evolución en brazos de lo fortuito, resultan insuficientes en la nueva atmósfera científica, porque en la evolución se descubren orden, y plan, y diseño, que nunca se podrán catalogar como productos de la casualidad.

Admirable que en todos y cada uno de los reinos de la ciencia contemporánea —ciencia que, entre paréntesis se distingue por su espíritu de humildad y reverencia en contraste con la soberbia y autonomía de la ciencia del siglo pasado— se adelanten vistas de la realidad que universalmente sugieren, cuando menos, por no decir que implican de plano, la idea de un ente ultrahumano —usando el adjetivo del profesor Wieman— que detrás del escenario cósmico dirige el drama de los siglos, ente cuya presencia se adivina sobre todo en el proceso evolutivo de la vida aquí en el planeta tierra. Ciertamente, que el hombre de ciencia, por muy casado que esté con las ideas y las teorías mecanicistas de un ayer cuyo

sol todavía no se pone en ciertos sectores del pensamiento contemporáneo, tiene por necesidad que distinguir la presencia del diseño en el Cosmos. Hecho éste que nos lleva al otro de que dondequiera que se advierten diseño y proyección se tiene que advertir también la presencia de un agente espiritual...

Se significa con esto que donde hay evidencias de orden, diseño y proyección, la naturaleza orgánica —el antiguo dominio del materialismo mecanicista— se levanta a nuestra vista como manifestación

de espíritu, o mente, si se prefiere llamarlo así... Y aquí tenemos a la ciencia moderna llegando a conclusiones que serán religiosas en el alto sentido del vocablo, esto es, conclusiones de "religación" —que esto es religión—; de un Universo único, orgánico, coherente y bien ligado entre sí: Universo que, en efecto, es producto de un plan definido, estructurado con fines ulteriores y con propósitos definidos: todo ello por un Alguien —o Algo si se quiere— inteligente, y vivo, y sabio, aun como el Dios del sentido común.

No se Turbe Vuestro Corazón

Hermanos míos muy amados, vosotros los de Tunja y Surinam, los de Quetzaltenango y Champotón, y los de Alajuela y San Buenaventura, e islas adyacentes del Mar del Sur: no tengáis miedo. Esto os digo deliberadamente y con mucha fe, a la luz de vuestras comunicaciones de recientes fechas: no tengáis miedo, hombres de poca fe: la fe vuestra, que es la nuestra, la fe de Jesucristo el hijo de Dios, no está en peligro, ni lo ha estado, ni lo estará; ni menos por capítulo de las ideologías que a la presente licitan por el poder espiritual en este mundo pecador...

Soy de opinión, muy amados, que el miedo es pecado y cosa de evitar, por mucho que tenga cierta función defensiva y de conservación de la especie. No, muy amados, a las especies miedosas se las lleva la corriente, como al camarón del refrán... Item: el miedo es pecado histórico —distinguiéndolo del original que llevamos potencialmente encima por el yerro de nuestra madre Eva, y del personal, que es resultante de nuestro libre arbitrio—, pecado que tenemos por delante, del siglo: el "ismo" de moda y turno...

Pecado será eso de tenerle miedo a cualquier ideología en apariencia hostil a la del Señor de los Señores... Porque así se pone uno

a la defensiva... Y ponerse así es ponerse en actitud anímica e insalubre... Acordaos, muy cuitados, del principio que reza "plaza sitiada, plaza tomada". La mejor apologética consiste en "objetivizar"... Lo más decente, y destructivo de la tesis enemiga, será darle a ésta "toda la cuerda", como se dice entre nuestros cofrades de pelo blanco y ojos azules... Además, la psicología nos da testimonio de que una cosa que se reprime encuentra nuevos ímpetus en la represión, y que, a la inversa, se gasta y muere cuando no se le hace frente...

Así con el comunismo... No tengáis miedo... Es un método de tantos, que hay que exponer a la luz de la crítica honesta. No tengáis miedo de que vaya nuestra fe a salir perjudicada del experimento... Ni creáis que hay sistema alguno, ni de los del aire, ni de los de la tierra, ni de los del mar, ni de los del fuego central, que pueda jamás conmover ni la doctrina, ni la persona del Cristo Salvador nuestro... Eso, empero, deja margen para que la fe de alguno que otro se conmueva, porque indudablemente es poca, aun como la de aquel San Pedro que por poco se hunde cierta ocasión... Otra vez os digo, muy cuitados: no tengáis miedo...

—Rodrigo BEYLE

alcance, en cuanto a tiempo concierne.

Ya que resulta fantástico creer que los radicales de este país se vean capacitados para capturar el mando dentro de un futuro inmediato, el procedimiento racional a seguir por los socialistas será de dedicarse con toda resolución a la doble tarea de cambiar la opinión pública y de organizarse en un frente triple. Porque el socialismo llegará tan rápidamente como la minoría socialista crezca en números y en influencia, y como se capte cuando menos el sostén tácito de la mayoría de obreros y votantes, y no más rápidamente que ello. *Educación y organización, educación y organización.* He aquí la combinación a que deben entregarse en cuerpo y alma los socialistas.

Si se nos objeta que este proceso es demasiado lento, la respuesta está ahí de que no hay otro proceso capaz de llevarnos a la meta deseada. El método socialista producirá resultados más rápidos que el comunista. La tarea por delante: organizar a los obreros, a los consumidores y a los votantes, y llegar al poder por medio de la presión económica y por medio del sufragio: tarea enormemente difícil, pero mucho más fácil que convertir a la mayoría del pueblo estadounidense a la doctrina de la dictadura del proletariado, y que adiestrarlo para la captura violenta del poder.

El gran papel de la clase media

Es menester, una vez más, recalcar el significado incalculable de la clase media en este país. El curso de los acontecimientos en Italia y en Alemania revela de manera clara la potencia dinámica de dicha clase, cuando se la despierta. *La manera más rápida y más efectiva de garantizar la emergencia de una dictadura fascista en los Estados Unidos se tiene en crear un partido comunista fuerte al grado de convencer a la clase media de que se la va a someter, antes de mucho, a un reinado de terror bajo*

una dictadura proletaria. Dadas las condiciones que ahora privan en los Estados Unidos, el partido comunista nunca podrá impedir la captura del poder por los fascistas, porque le sucederá lo que en Italia y Alemania, donde lo paralizaron por completo. Y hay más: que mientras mayor fuerza adquiera el comunismo aquí, más cerca nos encontraremos todos de las garras del fascismo.

Para que el socialismo triunfe en esta nación es indispensable que sectores poderosos de la clase media unan sus fuerzas con la mayoría de las clases trabajadoras. Por tanto, se hace imperativo que los socialistas repudien enfáticamente toda intención de llegar al poder por medio de la guerra civil. Los llamados a la violencia no conducirán al socialismo, sino que al fascismo.

Si los socialistas examinan su tarea en perspectiva no podrán menos que renovar y enriquecer su fe en el progreso futuro. Las corrientes económicas nos están empujando a la socialización, y no cae dentro de lo imposible que estas corrientes se puedan canalizar rumbo al socialismo. En todos los países industriales del mundo está muerto para siempre el principio de *laissez faire*, si bien muchas de sus teorías se ven aún insepultas. A principios de este siglo, habría sido imposible prever los maravillosos adelantos que se han hecho hasta ahora rumbo al control social. A los ancianos de la generación de hace cuarenta años sin duda que el sistema de la "N. R. A." les habría parecido forma horrible de bolchevismo, o cosa todavía más abominable. *El cambio que se requiere efectuar en la opinión pública con objeto de hacer posible un socialismo avanzado en los Estados Unidos no es tan profundo como el que se ha efectuado ya durante los últimos cincuenta años.*

Todavía más, el paso increíblemente rápido con que nos estamos moviendo hacia la consolidación del poder económico tendrá que

acelerar, por razón de su misma velocidad, la transformación del criterio público en cuanto concierne a la propiedad y al control sociales. La necesidad es maestra severa, pero muy eficiente. Y, la actual crisis económica ha producido una revolución de pensamiento más grande aún de lo que hubiera parecido posible cinco años atrás.

Hay todavía otro aspecto de la situación estadounidense que debe tenerse en mente: la rapidez con que cambia la opinión pública. Ejemplo de ello se tiene en el sentimiento popular acerca de la prohibición del tráfico de licores. Después de largos años de agitación relativamente inefectiva, el sentimiento en favor de la prohibición inundó el país con una velocidad asombrosa, y, después de diez años de experiencia, el país entero se fué al extremo opuesto, y con rapidez similar. Hoy con hoy, están ocurriendo aquí cambios de actitud hacia las cuestiones económicas con un ritmo que resulta demasiado vertiginoso para poderse comprender. Se tiene, por tanto, toda razón para esperar que el socialismo estadounidense pueda llegar a una etapa avanzada antes de que esta generación quede fuera de cuadro.

Por qué repudiar la acción violenta

Así que, la respuesta del socialismo norteamericano a la amenaza fascista, es como sigue: *educación y organización.* Hay que repudiar de una vez para siempre la doctrina de la captura violenta del poder, por las siguientes razones:

Primera. Porque es improbable en grado extremo que se pueda obtener apoyo suficiente de la clase media para hacer posible la captura airosa del poder por los proletarios.

Segunda. Aun admitiendo que el poder se capture temporalmente, se le podría mantener sólo por medio de horrible guerra civil, guerra que destruiría de raíz los sistemas.

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LA NUEVA DEMOCRACIA

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La Inefectividad de la Violencia

Por KIRBY PAGE

¿CUAL será la estrategia revolucionaria más efectiva para los fines deseados? ¿La de la violencia o la de la no violencia? ¿La guerrera o la pacifista? Esta cuestión es de importancia tal que bien merece examinarse de nuevo. Casi todos los izquierdistas contemporáneos están convencidos de que los actuales propietarios de la industria grande no van a abandonar voluntariamente sus privilegios y posiciones. Empero, difieren en cuanto a los medios más efectivos de coerción. ¿Qué pasos se habrán de dar para desposeer por la violencia a las personas que hoy con hoy tienen y controlan los instrumentos de producción? Se nos responde diciendo:

1. Enlistar una minoría de obreros lo suficientemente grande para que los insurrectos puedan habérselas con las fuerzas armadas al servicio de los intereses creados.
2. Equipar a los revolucionarios con bastantes armas y municiones de guerra moderna.
3. Captar el apoyo activo, o cuando menos la aquiescencia simpatizante, de una mayoría de la población, en lo particular, de una proporción significativa de los obreros de las industrias grandes y de los principales sistemas de transportes.
4. Hacer la guerra civil en forma efectiva en los centros estratégicos de toda la nación.
5. Después de las victorias iniciales, suprimir a los contrarrevolucionarios armados.
6. Socializar la industria con una rapidez suficiente para satisfacer las necesidades básicas de las masas, con objeto de impedir que éstas, impelidas por la desesperación, se vayan a aumentar las filas de los contrarrevolucionarios.

Tales, pues, los requisitos mínimos de una revolución armada capaz de ir al triunfo.

Ahora bien, ¿hasta dónde se podrán llenar los tales, aquí en los Estados Unidos, dentro de un futuro inmediato? A la presente, el número de obreros de las industrias básicas que se pueden considerar revolucionarios activos es pequeño en extremo. Probablemente que sea de un 5 por ciento. Hoy día, la mitad de la fuerza del partido comunista se deriva de los desocupados; sólo una fracción pequeña consta de obreros ocupados del acero, la minería, las empaquetadoras o los transportes. Después de cinco años de terribles privaciones, los obreros en general siguen mostrando una docilidad asombrosa. Cuando recurren a la violencia, su acción se dirige contra esta injusticia o la otra, pero no al derrocamiento revolucionario del capitalismo.

El armar y equipar de fuerzas revolucionarias constituye un problema mucho más serio de lo que están dispuestos a confesar, por regla general, los radicales. Las armas de destrucción que tienen a su comando los intereses creados son numerosísimas y poderosas. Y, su determinación de usar tales instrumentos es obvia. Por tanto, equivaldría a suicidio el que los obreros intentaran sublevarse, a menos que estuviesen bien armados. Y, hoy día, por armas se entiende ametralladoras, explosivos, gases y demás aparatos que son difíciles de manufacturar en secreto y aun de mantener escondidos en grandes cantidades. No bastaría con tener arsenales secretos en unos cuantos lugares, cuando se trata de un país tan grande como los Estados Unidos.

Muy a menudo se da por supuesto que en una situación revolucionaria X o Z, un cuerpo bien armado y disciplinado de insurrectos, por más que sea pequeño, puede derrocar el sistema capitalista y

establecer una dictadura del proletariado, por medio de la captura rápida de las terminales ferroviarias, las plantas de fuerza eléctrica, las centrales telefónicas, los edificios públicos y las plantas industriales estratégicas. El triunfo de la revolución rusa se cita repetidas veces como ejemplo del consabido y satisfactorio *coup d'état*.

El testimonio de Trotsky

La monumental historia de Trotsky nos ilustra con respecto a la validez de esta tesis. En los tres tomos de dicho libro se tienen evidencias suficientes que revelan con claridad meridiana el hecho de que la revolución rusa triunfó debido al colapso absoluto del régimen zarista, y también por la inmensa popularidad que había alcanzado el movimiento bolchevique. Se capturó San Petersburgo en espacio de veinticuatro horas sin más esfuerzo que unas cuantas descargas de fusilería, y con poquísimas bajas, porque la oposición a los insurrectos se desvaneció por completo. La victoria no fué hija del golpe de estado. Más bien, el golpe se logró porque no tuvo oposición digna del nombre. Moscú cayó en ocho días, principalmente por razón de la enorme superioridad de fuerza revolucionaria. En la hora de la crisis, Lenin escribía diciendo: "La victoria está asegurada y no hay enemigo al frente." Muralov, uno de los bolcheviques más destacados de Moscú explicaba el buen éxito así: "Una ventaja numérica avasalladora, de diez a uno."

Trotsky resume la crónica de los acontecimientos: "Paso a paso, hemos tratado de seguir en este libro el desarrollo de la revolución de octubre. El descontento creciente de las clases trabajadoras, el unirse de los Soviets a los estandartes del bolchevismo, la indignación del ejército, la campaña

ropeas quieren dilatar su poder económico y demográfico en África. La actual tragedia italiana no es sino un caso particular de un fenómeno general. Europa se derramará hacia allá. La América Latina deberá desarrollarse trabajosamente con sus propios elementos. Todo induce a creer que la rápida eclosión de nuevas naciones, ricas en tierras, como las argentinas y brasileñas no se repetirá en las montañas y campos andinos del Pacífico. Nuestras riquezas naturales requerirán otros capitales y deberán ser extraídas por nuestros propios brazos. Algunas de esas naciones como Perú, Bolivia, Ecuador, deberán hacer una colonización interior. Tienen ellas un gran reservorio de poblaciones indígenas dormidas. Deben ser despertadas. Hay allí una obra interesante y humana que consistirá en hacer del indio un *inmigrado*. Así supliremos, parcialmente al menos, la deficiencia o la tardanza de la emigración europea, si acaso, en algún tiempo, vuelve a vaciarse copiosamente en América.

—¿.....?

—Queda definida así la intensa cooperación del porvenir entre los Estados Unidos y la América Latina. Es una necesidad impuesta por la vida. No se trata de una orientación de sentimiento ni de una política de palabras banales de diplomacia interamericana. Se trata de una corriente de intereses que deberá ser canalizada. La América Latina tiene en el Norte, potencialmente, el auxilio económico que reclama la explotación de sus riquezas. La América del Norte tiene hacia el Sur el campo de inversión de sus capitales de exportación y la más vasta extensión de su comercio. La América del Norte está interesada en el desarrollo de nuestras repúblicas. Las dos partes de América deberán ser como dos elementos asociados en una empresa de acrecentamiento recíproco e interdependiente de poderío, de riqueza, de cultura. El

Asia se escapa cada vez más a la expansión de las naciones occidentales. La Europa en el África trabajará en su propia esfera. La América, a su vez, deberá hacer su destino. La doctrina del "Buen vecino" no es fruto exclusivo de un impulso de buena voluntad. Es una doctrina que radica además en la necesidad y en el interés. Debemos verla por eso como una doctrina permanente de los Estados Unidos, que se mantendrá a través de cualquier régimen americano. La ordenación del mundo se bosqueja por la formación de unidades económicas, que, organizadas, se vincularán lentamente en una unidad superior y universal. La Sociedad de las Naciones será entonces la realidad plena que algunos quieren hallar vanamente antes de tiempo.

—¿.....?

—¿El Panhispanismo? Es una categoría sentimental. España con su conquista y colonización provocó en América una nueva civilización. Hay aquí un nuevo tipo de hombre. Nuestras instituciones no son españolas. La tierra de Indias transformó lo español y determinó un producto mixto en el que se hallan elementos peninsulares e indígenas. Tenemos ciertamente el orgullo de nuestra raza y de nuestra lengua. Pero somos americanos y estamos en vía de construir una cultura original llena de color y de brillo. El porvenir está de este lado del mundo.

—¿.....?

—¿El Comunismo? No hay ese peligro en América. El error de los neo-marxistas se halla en creer posible una translación mecánica del sovietismo ruso. Hay cosas inexportables porque su naturaleza está en el suelo, en la historia y en la psicología racial. El comunismo ruso es como es por esas circunstancias. Las sociedades americanas se desenvolverán por otros medios hacia mejores organizaciones. Nuestro tipo de Estado no tendrá como base el dominio de una clase

sobre las demás, ni como fin, ni como medio...

—¿.....?

—Pues, precisamente se lucha en las sociedades latinoamericanas para quebrantar la actual organización económico-social fundada en las oligarquías o en las plutocracias. Una nueva clase media está poniéndose a la cabeza de las reivindicaciones necesarias. No se harán, sin embargo, mecánicamente por la violencia. No conducirán tampoco al juego de las antiguas revoluciones que cambiaban los equipos y dejaban intactos los sistemas. Deberemos vivir en una forma de transición que garantice la seguridad social o el bienestar de la comunidad entera manteniendo a sus unidades individuales en el goce de las facultades de la persona humana. Esta forma de transición es necesaria. A través de las generaciones las sociedades se adaptarán a otra organización económica y a otra estructura estatal. Será el producto de un trabajo que se opera en el fondo de la vida. La eclosión no puede ser artificial. Vendrá cuando las cosas estén maduras. La sabiduría de los grandes conductores consiste simplemente en mantener los rumbos. La marcha se hace sin descanso por la acción de las fuerzas económicas y espirituales siempre despiertas y propulsoras.

Así habló el embajador "at large" del Perú... Y el reportero se va... "Que no dejen de mandarme LA NUEVA DEMOCRACIA a Lima... Le voy a enviar un librito..." Y así, el despedido se mete a la tormenta de nieve que azota la "Park Avenue", pensando del librito por venir, y de cómo también los embajadores "at large" piensan *ya* de quebrantar la actual organización económico-social fundada en las oligarquías y en las plutocracias... Así la nieve que cae le sabe a canción de optimismo y esperanza...

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ENERO 1936
10 Centavos O.A.

El Quinto Paso Hacia la Paz Mundial

Por KIRBY PAGE

EN la resistencia a la guerra se tiene efectivísimo medio de promover la paz mundial. Lo indicado al efecto es que cada ciudadano se haga la resolución de no participar en guerra alguna, ni apoyarla; y también que anuncie su determinación a los cuatro vientos. Así, se les hará a los gobiernos un poco más difícil la tarea de llevar a sus pueblos al exterminio. Conveniente también será que las personas que se hayan hecho resolución como la mencionada se organicen y cooperen con vista a ofrecerle resistencia en masa a la guerra. Esto se hace evidente cuando se recuerda que son grupos pequeñísimos de individuos los que determinan las políticas de este gobierno o el otro. Dondequiera se tienen enormes proporciones de la población desarticuladas e inactivas en lo político. Las decisiones fundamentales siempre están a merced de la presión relativa de grupos minoritarios. De aquí que convenga organizar minorías fuertes de resistentes a la guerra dentro del movimiento obrero, y dentro de las iglesias, y las instituciones educativas, y el movimiento feminista, etc. En caso de que tal se lograra, la influencia de estos grupos sería formidable en las horas de crisis, y capaz de resolverla contra la guerra.

Las razones que debieran impedirlo a uno a abstenerse de participar en toda guerra se pueden sumarizar fácilmente. En primer lugar, es un hecho que toda guerra es innecesaria en lo absoluto. Esto es, que no hay querella internacional que no se pueda resolver en forma más económica y más equitativa que la de las armas. En el caso de los Estados Unidos, la posibilidad de que esta nación o la otra los ataque en el futuro es tan remota que se le debe excluir de la provincia de una política práctica.

En segundo lugar, aun cuando parezca que la guerra es necesaria, se tiene que resulta inefectiva como medio de lograr los fines apetecidos. Después de la matanza hay que ir a la mesa de las deliberaciones a estructurar arreglos y convenios acerca de las cuestiones en disputa. Como medio de proteger la propiedad privada, la guerra resulta fracaso monumental. Los Estados Unidos fueron a la Guerra Mundial con objeto de proteger la propiedad de sus nacionales en alta mar; pero ello es que cuando, de aquí a largos años, se pague el costo total de la carnicería, ésta habrá costado, según cálculo de Calvin Coolidge, unos cien mil millones de dólares... Es más, con objeto de proteger la propiedad, los Estados Unidos están gastando en mantener su aparato de defensa un total de mil millones de dólares por año. El estar preparado para la guerra y el hacer la guerra son métodos que han resultado ineficaces en extremo para proteger el tráfico internacional, y para proteger los intereses propietarios en el extranjero. La guerra moderna, como medio de protección de la vida de los nacionales, es el procedimiento más inefectivo que se conoce.

Tercera razón: que las armas e instrumentos de la guerra moderna son a la presente verdaderos medios de suicidio. Los adelantos de la aviación y el desarrollo de la industria química han hecho de la guerra un medio de devastación y exterminio al por mayor. Y más mortíferos aun en potencialidad nociva serán los rayos de la muerte y los gérmenes de enfermedades. Las armas se están perfeccionando en todas y cada una de las ramas de la guerra; la carnicería de otro conflicto en grande escala sería horrorosa en extremo. La complejidad siempre creciente de la sociedad moderna y la interde-

pendencia siempre en aumento de los pueblos hacen ineludible que el estancamiento de la producción y la distribución causado por una gran guerra futura traiga consigo hambre y miseria en escala espantosa, especialmente si se tiene en vista el hecho de que uno u otro grupo de beligerantes recurrirá al bloqueo.

Un patriotismo antibélico

Es más, la guerra debe repudiarse por razones de alto patriotismo. Si definimos el patriotismo como amor de los compatriotas, devoción a los ideales nacionales y voluntad de servir y sufrir por esos compatriotas y por esos ideales, es obvio, ciertamente, que será altamente antipatriótico hacer una guerra innecesaria, inefectiva y suicida. Este punto debe recalcar, porque existe la tendencia popular de identificar el patriotismo con el apoyo a la guerra, cuando la evidencia a mano es concluyente de que el patriota genuino lo será el ciudadano que rehusa terminantemente participar en cualquier guerra.

La guerra, antítesis de la alta religión

En quinto lugar, va en aumento rápido el número de hombres y mujeres que se pronuncian contra la guerra por razones religiosas. Si definimos pecado como una actitud o práctica que se traduzca en la degradación o destrucción de la personalidad humana, o en amargar las relaciones humanas, o en levantar barreras entre el hombre y Dios, entonces, parece obvio que el aprobar una guerra, o participar en ella es todo un pecado. Un criterio sano se puede tener sólo a la luz del hecho de que la guerra es un *método*; no es un fin, ni tampoco un espíritu. La guerra tiene fines en vista y se hace en espíritu de coraje o de cobardía; pero la guerra es un medio de alcanzar un

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EDITORIAL

MICROBIO del compartir, bacteria del convidar, inocular ahora los tejidos del organismo de Wall Street. Fenómeno admirable, porque este cuerpo capitalista es de los que dijéronse inmunes a semejantes gérmenes. En una actitud mental de logro y ganancia y de victoria y éxito, parece siempre que no hay campo para la simpatía, ni para la condolencia; porque el capitalista clásico es señor que obra de acuerdo con la bien conocida regla de que cada quien cuide de sí, y que el diablo se lleve al que no.

SOCIALIZACIÓN del criterio, cura de los demás, ansiedad de que el de atrás se salve... Todo esto salió a relucir en días pasados en el Congreso de la Industria, en la convención reciente de la Asociación Nacional de Manufactureros, entidad que con la Cámara Nacional de Comercio de EE. UU. representa los intereses y el punto de mira del sistema capitalista imperante aquí. La Asociación la ha venido haciendo de vocero de la Industria, que quiere decir también el Comercio, y la Banca, y todas las demás ramificaciones del orden económico actual. Es la misma que durante los últimos meses ha venido fustigando las policías hacendarias y sociales del presidente Roosevelt, la que en el Congreso mencionado arriba se pronunció definitiva y abiertamente en contra del "Nuevo sistema" y de todas sus implicaciones, anunciando que los manufactureros entraban a la lucha política en las próximas elecciones presidenciales con el objetivo específico de eliminar de la ecuación pública al señor Roosevelt y al sistema de reforma social por él representado...

MISTER Bardo, presidente de la Asociación, dió

la nota tónica de rebelión contra el "New Deal", diciendo que la Industria se veía obligada por fin, a impulsos de la urgencia de defensa legítima, a hacer política nacional, amplia y franca, para restablecer por todos los ámbitos y confines del Tío Sam el "Sistema americano", que los industrialistas presentan como antítesis del "Nuevo sistema", al que tachan de filosofía oriental y extraña a las tradiciones del país. Empero, el "Sistema americano" que preconizan significa el régimen de la iniciativa privada y de la competencia abierta, y del lucro ilimitado, esto es, el orden de cosas que prevaleció aquí hasta 1929. Por el otro lado, en el "New Deal" ven los capitalistas un régimen de control gubernamental, una técnica de economía dirigida, que no será sino herejía exótica y perjudicial al bienestar público. Pues, durante los últimos dos años la Industria yanqui se ha visto intimidada por los "profesores", expertos sancionados, —que el señor Roosevelt trajo a Washington de asesores—, y los reformistas sociales, y los maleantes del laborismo, y los demagogos de la política populachera...

EMPERO, además de toda esta trompetería de carácter político preelectoral, los industriales trajeron a su congreso una nota que parece nueva, a saber, la que mentábamos al comenzar estas líneas: nota de cooperativismo social, que lo hace a uno pensar del distributismo del finado senador Huey Long, que se informaba en su malogrado programa de "compartimiento de la riqueza" (share the wealth), y del plan del californiano Townsend, de fijarle pensión de doscientos dólares mensuales a cada anciano, y del programa económico hacendario del Rdo. P. Coughlin, el de Detroit, Michigan, tan bien conocido. El capitalismo estadounidense, que se considerara decrepito, exhausto y como si listo ya para exhalar el último aliento, se incorpora, pues, de repente, en ademán desesperado de volver por sus fueros de individualismo reaccionario y de anarquía social en la gestación de la vida pública de su país.

COSA rara, sin embargo, el que a la par que los capitalistas abogan por el regreso al orden de antes del temblor de 1929, que ellos llaman retorno a las fuentes del "americanismo industrial", ofrezcan también todo un programa de reforma social y económica. Los devotos del *laissez faire* se dan cuenta de que hay en el país un total de 10.000.000 de individuos sin trabajo, y otros 20.000.000 que viven de subsidios federales. La Industria, por boca de Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., sustenta ahora su fórmula de remedio, su plan de repartimiento y compartimiento de la riqueza nacional de EE. UU. El plan Sloan consta de dos puntos. *Primero, reducir los precios reales y los precios de venta de la mercancía. Segundo, lograr un equilibrio más racional, desde el punto de vista económico, de los ingresos totales de la pobla-*

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Cinco Pasos Hacia la Paz Mundial

Por KIRBY PAGE

¿QUÉ podemos hacer para sacar a nuestra civilización del pantano que rápidamente se la viene tragando hoy con hoy? Hay cinco pasos a dar, pasos que constituyen un programa absolutamente mínimo de acción.

1. Abolir el sistema de la propiedad privada

Este será el primer paso, hablando en términos de significado. Hay que eliminar el sistema de propiedad privada de los principales instrumentos de producción y distribución. La potencia inherente en la posesión de las fuentes primarias de riqueza lleva de manera inevitable a la desigualdad excesiva de ingresos, y al exceso de ahorros, y a la restricción de gastos, y a la superproducción, y al subconsumo, y a los conflictos por la captura de los mercados extranjeros y los campos de inversión, y a las controversias arancelarias, y a las competencias de armamentos, y a sospechas, y odios, y miedos, y guerras.

La propaganda pagada por los grandes intereses financieros y por los dueños de la industria grande, es la causa principal de la perpetuación y la intensificación del nacionalismo —que es el culto del pasado— y el temor a cualquier cambio. Se admite que no sea válido decir que el capitalismo es la causa única del nacionalismo; pero será ceguera crasa el no ver la parte provocativa que los intereses propietarios desempeñan en avivar las llamas del militarismo y del jingoísmo.

A menudo se levanta alguien a objetar diciendo que el tiempo que se requiere para transformar el sistema actual de propiedad es demasiado largo. Se nos dice que si concentra uno la atención en la necesidad de abolir la guerra, la guerra nos arrollará antes de que po-

damos establecer el socialismo. Por supuesto que no hay socialista que no se percate de la posibilidad de que la guerra irrumpa antes de que las grandes industrias puedan ser socializadas. Pero todas las evidencias que se tienen por delante parecen apuntar al hecho de que la guerra no se va a eliminar, ni siquiera a retardar lapso que valga la pena, mediante medidas pacifistas superficiales.

Muy a menudo, las sociedades pacifistas concentran sus esfuerzos casi exclusivamente en pasos cortos, y se olvidan de *recalcar la necesidad que hay de efectuar cambios fundamentales en la estructura del orden económico actual*. Si el cincuenta por ciento de la energía y de los fondos que se han gastado en campañas, en Estados Unidos, en pro del ingreso de dicho país al Tribunal Mundial de Justicia, y en pro de la reducción de los armamentos, y de la proscripción de la guerra, y de la estructuración de condiciones bajo las cuales entren los Estados Unidos a la Sociedad de Naciones, y en investigar las actividades de los municioneros, se hubiese empleado en una campaña continua de educación y organización tendiente a la transformación del actual sistema propietario, entonces, las fuerzas pacifistas del país estarían en una posición muchísimo más fuerte de la que ahora tienen, que les permitiría enfrentar el peligro de la guerra en forma adecuada. Esa posición tenderá a debilitarse si dichos organismos siguen ignorando la necesidad de efectuar cambios económicos de calibre radical.

2. Repudiar la política de la intervención armada

Otro énfasis a poner en primer renglón, en cualquier programa pro paz digno de llamarse efectivo, se tiene en el repudio inequívoco

de la policía de intervenir por la fuerza armada en tierras extranjeras y en alta mar, en defensa de la vida y la propiedad de ciudadanos de Estados Unidos. En términos del futuro inmediato, aquí se tiene uno de los aspectos más críticos de la política extranjera de la Casa Blanca. La administración actual ha ido bien lejos hacia el abandono de la práctica de enviar las infanterías de marina a tierras extrañas; pero se puede volver al procedimiento, y rápidamente, por este régimen, o por el que le suceda, a menos que la práctica sea prohibida por estatuto federal. Por tanto, hay que hacer un esfuerzo determinado al efecto de lograr que se estatuyan leyes federales en las que se informe la formal renunciación por parte de los Estados Unidos, de emplear sus fuerzas armadas en otros países o en alta mar.

La renunciación de la guerra como instrumento de policía nacional tendrá poco significado a menos que sea sostenida por una renunciación al empleo de la fuerza como instrumento de la misma policía. La urgencia de que se legisle en este sentido se intensifica ante el hecho de que el secretario de la marina Swanson y algunos otros componentes de la administración Roosevelt están demandando públicamente una marina de guerra mayor que la actual, destinada a sostener la política nacional, y no simplemente a la defensa de la patria.

Si los Estados Unidos se ven envueltos en otra guerra, es probable del todo que la principal causa de la controversia tenga que ver con sus derechos de neutrales en alta mar. Este país bien pudo haberse mantenido al margen de la Gran Guerra si tan sólo se escuchara la sugerencia del secretario de estado Bryan. Si el presidente

te de diversos males: tuberculosis peritoneal, abscesos, lesiones supurantes, cáncer... Nos dice que el proceso de cura por medio de la oración es casi igual en todos los casos estudiados. "A menudo, un dolor intenso. En seguida, la sensación de estar sano. En unos cuantos segundos, en unos cuantos minutos, cuando más en unas cuantas horas, se cicatrizan las lesiones, desaparecen los síntomas patológicos y vuelve el apetito. A veces, los desórdenes funcionales desaparecen antes que las lesiones anatómicas se reparen... El milagro se caracteriza principalmente por la extrema aceleración de los procesos de reparación orgánica. No hay duda de que el ritmo de reparación orgánica en estos casos es mucho más rápido que el normal. La única condición indispensable para que el fenómeno (la curación) ocurra, es la oración. Pero no es menester que el enfermo mismo sea el que ore, ni aun que tenga fe religiosa alguna. Basta con que cerca de él se encuentre alguien en estado de oración..."

Como habrá visto el lector, las que anteceden son palabras de un médico de reputación y fama reconocidas donde los científicos más acendrados. A nosotros no nos corresponde averiguar hasta qué punto falle el Dr. Carrel en su aventura destructora de fetichismos contemporáneos. Se le critica que en los índices de su obra—obra de biología—no aparece una sola vez el vocablo "evolución", como tampoco se la mienta en el capítulo sobre Adaptación... Lo que sí queremos anotar, como cosa buena e higiénica, es el ataque de frente, atrevido y valeroso que nuestro hombre hace contra la ortodoxia estrecha y fanática que hoy con hoy prepondera en el reino de la biología y en el de la medicina. Por supuesto que hay quien dude, y también quien niegue, la realidad última de fenómenos tales como los de la telepatía y la cura milagrosa de ciertas enfermedades. Pero, si como Carrel lo afir-

ma, dichos fenómenos son reales, tendrán los tales que formar parte importantísima de la biología humana. Y, ya sean reales, o ya simples supersticiones, el libro que nos ocupa servirá para traerlos al campo del estudio crítico—verdaderamente científico—, abandonando así la actitud altanera de unos científicos que rechazan todo hecho que caiga fuera de la influencia del fetiche en turno: ayer la evolución, luego, la interpretación económica de la historia, en seguida la relatividad, etc.

Por lo demás, la obra de este eminente francés aparece en el campo del pensamiento actual co-

mo artillería de grueso calibre destinada a silenciar nuevos fuertes del materialismo a ultranza. Hasta aquí, han sido los astrofísicos, los escudriñadores de la bóveda celeste, los que con sus conclusiones y vistas de la vida han minado constantemente y eficazmente la posición del materialismo recalcitrante. Ahora es del campo de la biología de donde aparece otro sustentador de la misticidad como filosofía de vida. La misticidad invade, pues, el vedado de la biología. Vale decir, que es cierto lo de Ortega y Gasset, que pasa ya el período de aversión a la Deidad, y que los hombres, los plebeyos a la par que los científicos, se percatan de sus errores de visión, y vuelven al rumbo seguro: el rumbo de contacto con lo Infinito, de modos variados y distintos: aun el modo que dijérase ayuno de espiritualidad, del laboratorio y la clínica y la investigación científica.

Y vale decir también, que el regreso a la senda buena se acelerará en todos los sectores de la actividad si en forma más rápida aún nos alistamos todos a combatir, como el mismo Carrel aconseja, esos "principios de la civilización industrial que deben combatir con la misma furia con que los enciclopedistas combatieron los principios de los regímenes de hace ciento cincuenta años. Y teniendo en cuenta que la lucha tendrá que ser más ruda aún, porque los modos de existencia introducidos por la tecnología hacen la vida agradable, como es agradable el hábito del alcohol, y del opio y de la cocaína." Lo que significa, por fin, que los rumbos de la misticidad no son rumbos del desierto ni del aislamiento, sino que de la lucha ardua y esforzada por hacer que el hombre, animal que lleva pantalones, se dé cuenta de que es, también, alma, espíritu, y aparición divina; y por que, sabiéndolo, levante la vista a las alturas de una vida mejor y más de acuerdo con la Realidad que sustenta a dicha vida.

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“Why I Am Going to Vote for LaFollette”

By Kirby Page

MY primary reason for voting for LaFollette is in order to help launch a real progressive party in this country. There are many secondary reasons for my decision.

The need for a new alignment in American politics is unquestionable. The issues out of which the two old parties arose are no longer dominant. To classify voters as Republicans and Democrats is an almost meaningless performance. Speaking of the American political situation, Lord Bryce, an acknowledged authority in his realm, said:

Neither party has, as a party, anything definite to say on these issues [which one hears discussed in the country as seriously involving its welfare]; neither party has any cleancut principles, any distinctive tenets. Both have traditions. Both claim to have tendencies. Both have certainly war cries, organizations, interests enlisted in their support. But those interests are in the main the interests of getting or keeping the patronage of the government. Distinctive tenets and policies, points of political doctrine and points of political practice have all but vanished. They have not been thrown away, but have been stripped away by time and the progress of events fulfilling some policies, blotting out others. All has been lost, except office or the hope of it.

How much light is shed upon a man's political beliefs by saying, “He is a Republican,” or “He is a Democrat”? When we classify Coolidge, Lodge, Borah and Brookhart as Republicans, and Davis, Smith, McAdoo and Bryan as Democrats we thereby hopelessly obscure the real issues of the campaign. Coolidge and Brookhart are poles apart in their basic political ideas. Lodge and Borah are united in their opposition to the League of Nations, but

are separated by a vast chasm in other realms of politics. Coolidge and Davis are very much nearer together on many major issues than are Coolidge and Brookhart or Davis and Bryan. Reality in politics is impossible until parties represent definite points of view with regard to dominant issues.

What are the real issues of the day? The answer seems clear and unmistakable: *economic questions are the dominant phase of politics at this hour.* There are, of course, many other important matters confronting us, such as honesty and efficiency in government, prohibition, law enforcement, freedom of speech, race relations and international affairs. But I am convinced that the real cleavage is along economic lines. Evidence of this fact is found in the utterances of the various candidates. La-Follette is being attacked chiefly on two grounds, his attitude toward the Supreme Court and his advocacy of so-called radical economic ideas. Prohibition is not a live issue in this campaign. The Eighteenth Amendment is not being seriously attacked and all the candidates are advocating law enforcement. Honesty in government is not a real issue between the Republicans and the Democrats. Coolidge and Davis are equally emphatic upon this point. The Democrats have a slight advantage in the present campaign because they have been out of office during the past four years and their record of war graft and corruption is less vividly in the public mind. The World Court and the League of Nations are not real points of division in the present campaign. The Democratic candidate is outspoken in his advocacy of the League, but the Democratic Party refused to incorporate an outright League plank in its platform, evading the issue by calling for a popular referendum on the question. Moreover, the Republican Administration has given a considerable degree of actual coöperation to the League during the past year. Both President Harding and President Coolidge, as well as Secretary Hughes, have advocated our entrance into the World Court.

The evidence is clear that the real issue in the present campaign is an economic one. Shall our Government be controlled by and operated for the benefit of the wealthy and privileged classes of society, or shall it be administered by and for the rank and file—the middle class,

the workers and the farmers? Shall we be ruled by the great manufacturing, commercial and banking interests and their attorneys or by representatives of the vastly greater numbers of workers by hand and brain? Shall we be dominated by a Wall Street bloc or by a people's bloc?

It seems to me that the supreme need of American politics is for an alignment that has a basis of economic reality. What we need is a party that will represent the conservatives and another that will represent the progressives. Only in this way can we have political health. I am voting for LaFollette because I regard him as an economic progressive and the man who is best able to launch a real progressive party and because Coolidge and Davis are both economic conservatives, and are almost equally acceptable to Wall Street. It should be pointed out in passing that LaFollette is not an economic radical in any extreme sense. He is not even a Socialist. Many Socialists such as Scott Nearing are refusing to vote for LaFollette on the ground that he is too conservative and instead are voting for the candidate of the Communist Party.

Personally I have long hoped that we might have in America a party which would be somewhat like the British Labor Party, made up as it is, of workers by hand and brain, including organized trade unionists, unorganized manual workers, clerks, small trades people, professional men and women, scientists and technicians. I am convinced that there is more idealism in the British Labor Party than in any other political party in the world and that the achievement of its program would mark an enormous stride in human progress. The present power and influence of this party is not an accident, but the result of thirty years of indefatigable energy on the part of a relatively small group of middle class idealists like Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden and Sidney Webb and labor leaders like Keir Hardie, Arthur Henderson and J. R. Clynes.

It seems to me that the present campaign offers an unparalleled opportunity to liberally minded clergymen and laymen to make their ideals count in a practical political way. The United States is very rapidly becoming industrialized, with the consequence that the strug-

gle between the employers and workers is becoming more intense and bitter. There is increasing solidarity of the employers in their associations and likewise of the workers in trade unions. The size of the units in the industrial conflict is increasing enormously and therefore the struggle is more and more destructive. In the face of this tendency, we may be certain that the organized workers and liberal forces in this country will more and more supplement industrial action by political action. The trend in this direction is unmistakable and sooner or later a new political party is sure to be formed. The significant question for church people is whether this party will be materialistic and narrowly class conscious, as in Germany, or idealistic and inclusive, as in England. One of the most conspicuous facts about the situation in Germany is the utter antagonism of the masses of the workers to the churches. In America, however, a considerable number of workers are still active in the churches. The danger of our situation is that church leaders will more and more line up with the employers in the industrial and political struggle and thus alienate the masses of workers and intensify the materialistic class struggle. On the other hand, if the liberal element in the churches will avail themselves of the opportunity now presented, they have it within their power to exercise enormous influence on the policy and program of the new party.

Thus my primary reason for voting for LaFollette is to aid in forming a real progressive party. But there are many secondary reasons why I am voting for him. I have the utmost confidence in his personal integrity and his unswerving devotion to the interests of the common people. It would be difficult if not impossible to find another statesman in this country who has so consistent a record of courageous effort and actual achievement for the people as that of LaFollette. The enormous public value of his service to the people of Wisconsin is well known and well attested. A good summary of it was given by Professor John R. Commons, himself an expert in government, in "The New Republic," of September 17th. In Washington he has long been known a close student of transportation and other economic problems, relying as few statesmen do upon scientific research and verified data. He was sponsor or early advo-

cate of much of the progressive legislation of the past two decades.

After a close study of the Progressive platform I find myself in substantial agreement with most of its planks, although I do have several reservations. The point at which I differ most fundamentally is with regard to the World Court and the League of Nations. It seems to me that effective agencies of international justice are absolutely essential to world peace. The World Court and the League are steps in this direction and no effective alternatives are in sight. I am, therefore, a passionate believer in the World Court and the League and desire to see the United States quickly join both these agencies. The League has made such splendid headway and the pressure of events is so much in its favor that I have no doubt whatever that within the next few years we shall not only continue to coöperate with the League but shall openly and wholeheartedly become a member. The Democrats alone do not have the power to take us into the League and on the other hand no other party can long keep us out in the face of the actual facts of the world situation. One of the great values of the League is as a means of preventing war. But the machinery of the League cannot keep the peace. On the supremely important question of economic imperialism and other major causes of war LaFollette seems to me to be nearer right than either Davis or Coolidge. This fact somewhat offsets his objection to the League. It is also well to point out that his chief quarrel with the League is that it is closely bound up with the Treaty of Versailles, which treaty is rapidly coming to be recognized as in many respects an unworkable and iniquitous document. Moreover, a really democratic and progressive government in the United States would have incalculable influence in removing the causes of war and establishing peace and justice between the nations.

Personally, I wish that La Follette were more of a dry on the liquor question. However, the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act are not issues in this campaign. For this reason it seems to me that it would be a great mistake for a liberal on economic questions to refuse to vote for LaFollette simply because he is not as dry as we could wish.

The chief criticism of LaFollette is because of his attitude toward the Supreme Court. It is worth emphasizing in passing that at root this is an economic issue, involving as it does the whole question of property rights and labor legislation. The real issue between LaFollette and his opponents is this: Can the voters of this generation be trusted to conduct their own government or must they be obstructed and checked by the dead hand of the past? It is not a question of loyalty to the Constitution. It is a matter of *interpretation* of the Constitution. In many of its major decisions in recent years the Supreme Court has divided five to four, five to three, six to three. A Supreme Court composed of judges with the economic background and philosophy of Brandeis would interpret the Constitution in almost diametrically opposite terms on many questions from the decisions of a Court composed of judges holding the economic views of Taft. There is no doubt that at the present time five members of the Supreme Court have the power to invalidate legislation which is regarded as constitutional by four other members and which is earnestly desired by an overwhelming proportion of American voters. This is an intolerable situation. An awakened democracy will not be content to wait for ten or twenty years while the painfully slow processes of constitutional amendment operate. It is no solution of the problem to appoint liberal or radical justices. Such justices might prove to be as great an obstruction to the will of the people as a conservative court may be. The real question is this: Can democracy afford to give five men power to overthrow legislation desired by two-thirds of the voters?

What LaFollette proposes is nothing more drastic or revolutionary than this: "We favor submitting to the people for their considerate judgment a constitutional amendment providing that Congress may by re-enacting a measure make it effective over a judicial veto." Surely the people have a right to express an opinion at the polls as to whether or not they desire such an amendment to the Constitution. It is well to point out in this connection that England has no written constitution at all. And yet competent observers are agreed that England is one of the best governed countries in the world. France has a written constitution, but the higher courts do not have

the power to invalidate legislation of the parliament. Surely this whole question is sufficiently important to be discussed on its merits without hysteria and political propaganda.

By way of summary, I am going to vote for LaFollette as a means of helping to launch a really progressive party; because of his proved integrity and loyalty to the interests of the common people; because of his record of achievement during the past forty years; and because I am in substantial agreement with most of the planks of his platform.

The EPWORTH HERALD

December 10, 1927

Prayer for the Spiritual Union of Mankind

BY HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK
in the Near East

ETERNAL GOD, father of all souls, grant unto us such clear vision of the sin of war, that we may earnestly seek that co-operation between nations which alone can make war impossible. ✽ As man by his inventions has made the whole world into one neighborhood, grant that he may, by his co-operations, make the whole world into one brotherhood. ✽ Help us to break down all race prejudice; stay the greed of those who profit by war, and the ambitions of those who seek an imperialistic conquest. ✽ Guide all statesmen to seek a just basis for international action in the interests of peace. ✽ Arouse in the whole body of the people an adventurous willingness; as they sacrificed greatly for war, so, also, for international good will; to dare bravely, think wisely, decide resolutely and to achieve triumphantly. Amen.

IN THIS ISSUE:

"Should Christians Go to War?"

By KIRBY PAGE

Wong. The very fountains of his being seemed broken up. What a world! Why had the girl not died on the precipice, or in the hospital? Why had he not died under the old bridge or in the fight in the farmhouse? Why had they not died together in the white, surging waters as they dangled and dallied with the great broken hawser?

Surely this world was the sport of devils. The Taoists and Pastor Ma were right after all. Be the devil one or legion, he was dominating all, and laughed in fiendish glee as he saw poor humans writhe in the grip of circumstance. Circumstance! What were circumstances but the cursed warp and woof of the devil's subtle cunning? Who could withstand such superhuman craftiness? The very joys of life were but his allurements leading on to some greater doom. Yes, mankind was but a plaything in the power of the demons. Who could save?

Pastor Ma had bidden him pray to Jesus. Jesus had power over devils. Lew-chee

laughed. Had he not prayed? Had he not prayed that Jesus would drive the devils out of this very villain Wong? And here was the answer to his prayers. For all that Lew-chee could see to the contrary, the victory was with the fiends.

Then why not join forces with them? They seemed to befriend the wicked Wong. Why not beat him at his own game? A sudden subtle joy seemed to spring within him at the thought. He could do it. He had the villain on the hip. Why not throw him headlong? Mae Jen was his. She loved him. She was here in this very city and in his power. Why not seize her for himself? Indeed it might not be necessary to use force. He would simply persuade her of her horrible fate and gain her consent to an alliance. Her heart was his. He could fight, too. Why should he not fight and vanquish for her, his own? Why fight Wong and the demons both? Why not turn the latter against so arch an enemy? He, too, would use devil's

devices to play a devil's game. Let Wong beware!

Again he laughed as he stood there in the darkness. As he laughed again a pair of deep, lustrous eyes came before his visionings from some of memory's vaults. In a flash of consciousness he seemed to tell her all. She was to be his. He would save her. He would fight for her to the end. For the sake of a great good, he would also descend to a little evil. She must come to him, that was all. They would together out-demon that demon. What was a betrothal? It was but a devil's device to their undoing.

But the dark eyes seemed to cloud over as he entertained these dark thoughts. A strange look of sorrow filled them. No, it was more than sorrow, it was mistrust. The eyes were turning aside.

"Mae Jen, Mae Jen!" he cried in desperation, but the face faded.

Some officer on the other side of the rough-
(Continued on page 15)

Should Christians Go To War?

There is a widespread belief that Jesus' teaching is not practical for nations, but isn't it the only thing that can save us from destruction and chaos?

By KIRBY PAGE

Editor of "The World To-morrow"

THE Christian church has blessed every war waged within Christendom since the conversion of Constantine. During these nearly sixteen centuries minorities of clergymen and laymen have refused to render military service, but the great bulk of churchmen have sanctioned and participated in innumerable wars, secular and religious. Shall we conclude, therefore, that war may be Christian? Not necessarily. For many centuries the church also sanctioned slavery, the burning of heretics and numerous other barbarous institutions and practices.

Can war be reconciled with Jesus' way of life? Keep in mind the fact that Jesus was a citizen of a country that was in bondage to a militaristic power. Rome was the mistress of almost all the known world. Roman officials had full power over the whole life of the Jewish people. Jesus was a member of a race that loved freedom and hated tyranny to an extent that has rarely been equaled by any people in human history. Everywhere the rank and file were awaiting the coming of the Messiah who should lead them in the struggle to overthrow the tyrant and restore their glorious freedom. They were not all agreed as to the nature of the Messiah who was to come, but the predominant conception was that he would be the son of David. This meant that the new kingdom was to be essentially military, for to the Jew, David was a man of war, a conqueror of the enemies of Israel. To describe the Messianic king as his son was to ascribe to him the same military powers.

It should also be remembered that a never-ending series of revolts and rebellions kept breaking out. About 150 B. C. the Maccabees had led the Jewish people in a revolt which was successful and which for a brief time re-established national freedom and greatness. But soon they were in bondage again. About the time of the birth of Jesus occurred a very violent rebellion against Rome. On another occasion Theudas led a revolt with the result that he and four hundred of his followers were slain. In the year A. D. 7 Judas of Galilee led an armed revolt. He and his followers were likewise slaughtered. During the reign of Pilate an armed rebellion was put down with great loss of life. In A. D. 70 the city of Jerusalem was destroyed and over a million people were slain, crucified, or sold into slavery. Thus we see there was never a period when the Jews ceased their efforts to regain their freedom.

THAT Jesus turned away from the kind of kingdom the Jews were expecting and rejected the methods on which they relied is known to all men. Why? The answer is found running through the entire gospel rec-

ord. Jesus rejected their ends and their means because both were in fundamental opposition to the way of life which he had chosen as his own. The supreme end of life is the establishment of the family of God, where every human being will love God as father and all men as brothers. Jesus' kingdom is a universal one and includes all members of the father's family—Romans and Samaritans as well as Jews. Since God is father and all men are brothers and each is of priceless worth, it follows that Christian virtues are family virtues. Attitudes and practices which have no place in the ideal family are wrong for Christians. Jesus has no place for hatred, retaliation, and revenge. "Ye have heard that it was said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, but I say unto you"—something radically different. On the other hand, followers of Jesus are under the positive obligation to treat every person as a member of the father's family.

In response to a question as to which is the greatest commandment, Jesus summarized all the law, the prophets and the gospel in terms of love—the preëminent family virtue—love toward God and toward man. We are to love not only the good and attractive members of the family, but also the wicked and the unlovely, including those who are seeking to do us harm or even to destroy us. "Love your enemies (Romans were in the minds of his hearers), do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you"—nothing less than this is the challenge of Jesus. Not only love, but forgiveness is demanded. In response to the question of Peter as to whether he should forgive his brother seven times, Jesus replied, "Seventy times seven," that is to say, live always in the forgiving spirit. Love and forgiveness are the means of redeeming the erring one and of restoring him to the family circle. Therefore, the innocent members must love and serve and suffer for the sake of the guilty.

That this is the gospel of Jesus is to be seen not only in his teaching, but preëminently in his example. The cross of Calvary is only the natural culmination of Jesus' manner of life. Here we see the innocent loving, serving, suffering, dying for the sake of the guilty. This, says Jesus, is the way every member of the family ought to live. This is the way to restore the broken family bonds: overcome evil by doing good. Thus we see that Jesus was compelled to choose between the patriotic

conception of his countrymen and his own way of life. To seek a materialistic and nationalistic kingdom by using the weapons of war and by adopting the attitudes of hate and revenge would have compelled the abandonment of his most essential ideals and practices.

THE belief is widespread that the teaching of Jesus is wholly impracticable as a basis for international relations. Some persons go further and say that the teaching of Jesus is not only impracticable for nations, but wholly inapplicable. A former chancellor of the University of Tübingen has written: "In short, the entire chapter of the duties of love, which is the chief doctrine of the moral law, has no application to the conduct of the state. A nation depends, not upon the love of others, but upon the love of self, upon the fostering and development of its own power and prosperity; and if we characterize this by the term 'egoism'—a term, indeed, that is scarcely applicable—then egoism certainly is the foundation of all politics."

It is obvious to a casual observer that thus far even the Christian nations have made small effort to conduct their relations with each other on a basis of the teaching and spirit of Jesus. The result is tragically evident; misunderstanding, fear, suspicion, enmity, excessive nationalism, greedy imperialism, militarism, and periodic wars. There can be only one end to a continuation of these attitudes and practices: universal destruction and chaos. The fact is incontrovertible that the manner of life which has hitherto been followed by the nations is impracticable and disastrous. In the light of this conclusion, let us face the question: Is Jesus' way of life practicable for nations? One way to gain light upon this question is to ask: What are the greatest needs of the nations at this hour? Surely all would agree that the following must be included: (1) More good will and less hatred; (2) more unselfishness and less greed; (3) more coöperation and less rivalry; (4) more unity and less artificial cleavage; (5) more confidence in non-violent agencies of justice and less dependence upon military force; (6) more faith in each other and less fear.

Are not the attitudes and practices which are most desperately needed by the nations—good will, unselfishness, coöperation, unity, trust in spiritual forces, faith in men—the very ones which are inherent in Jesus' way of life? Is it not true that only by incorporating these characteristics into the life of the nations can modern civilization be saved from destruction? Are we not justified in saying that Jesus' way of life is the only practicable way for the nations to secure peace, freedom, and justice?

The Worker Practises a New Art

It was felt that on this subject, the interest of our readers is best served by this summary, specially prepared by one of our editors

EVERY winter during December and January one may still see in parts of San Antonio, Texas, and in the neighboring villages along our Southern border a picturesque survival of the Middle Ages. It is an old mystery play of the adoration of the shepherds. The words are those passed orally from father to son through many generations. The roof of their peripatetic theater is appropriately the sky; the stage is the dooryard of some cottage, the back-drop the outside wall, and the players themselves simple Mexican working people who cling despite all the inroads of a new civilization to the ways of their fathers.

There are undoubtedly many places in the world where the toiler in workshop and field is still carrying on the theatrical traditions of his forbears, dramatizing the story of a local hero or interpreting some aspect of his religion, — just as primitive man found in dance and music and pantomime a means of worship and an emotional expression of his adventures in battle and the hunt. The Mardi Gras is first of all an old community ceremonial. The Passion Play at Oberammergau is but the most famous of

many passion plays — secular dramas as well — persisting among peasants in the remote villages of the Tyrol. Strolling players in Belgium, setting up their stages in market-place, inn-yard, or meadow, still keep up the traditions of a Flemish drama of the common people that flourished in the 12th century.

Yet with all these instances of a persistent drama among common people, the workingman's chief acquaintance with the theater is, in this country, as riveter, plasterer, and stage-hand. He rarely comes nearer than its billboards. For theatrical entertainment he contents himself with vaudeville, the circus, and the movie. Along the larger rivers a few showboats, much like those of 100 years ago, still ply their trade; and *The Playhouse*, James Adams' floating theater, has this past spring begun its 50th season, playing its sentimental dramas of mother-love and broken hearts to capacity audiences of fisher-folk and small shopkeepers along the salt inlets of Virginia and North Carolina. The tendency, of course, through all the years, has been for the drama to fall sooner or later into the hands of the moneyed and leisured classes.

Christianity and Patriotism

By KIRBY PAGE*

PATRIOTISM, at its best, is one of the noblest of sentiments; at its worst, it is one of the most destructive. Love of one's own group frequently leads to

enmity against other groups. The prevailing conception of patriotism is that it is the duty of a citizen to support his government in all controversies with other governments, regardless of the merits of the case. The famous words of Stephen Decatur, who was himself killed in a duel—"Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong"—are not only carried on the masthead of several leading newspapers and periodicals in this country, they represent the convictions of a great mass of people.

It is assumed that love of country must be expressed by loyal support of the government or administration in power at the moment. If these officials happen to believe in the use of armed force to avenge damages done to property of our citizens in other lands or to compel apologies for insults to our national honor, they may feel obliged to declare war, in which case every citizen is expected to support the government, even to the extent of killing the citizens of the enemy country—and this regardless of whether or not they are guilty or innocent. When Mexico refused to make an apology and salute our flag in the Vera Cruz incident, our sailors were required to bombard the city and kill innocent Mexicans.

Thus we are confronted with an extraordinary paradox. Most people hate war. In no country is there any large proportion of the population who delight in slaughter. Conscription and propaganda are indispensable to the waging of war on a great scale. Yet war creates more enthusiasm than any other event in our modern world. It is regarded as unpatriotic to oppose military preparedness and as treasonable to withhold support after war is declared.

This astounding spectacle of vast multitudes doing with extreme enthusiasm the thing they most utterly detest arises out of the emotions kindled by the portraits drawn by nationalism and by the political dogmas upon which nationalism rests. As long as the respective peoples of the earth magnify their own virtues and minimize their own faults, while exaggerating the vices of other people and underestimating their achievements, and as long as the current ideas of national interest, national sovereignty, national honor and national patriotism prevail—just so long will humanity be menaced with war.

"The important elements in patriotism seem to me to be love for the people who dwell in one's country and devotion to the highest ideals of one's nation. By this standard, Jesus was the preeminent patriot of his day."

TOO LONG have we allowed militarists and jingoes to claim a monopoly of patriotism. The important elements in patriotism seem to me to be love for the

people who dwell in one's country and devotion to the highest ideals of one's nation. By this standard, Jesus was the preeminent patriot of his day, although he refused to take up violent weapons against the despoilers of his people. If the war system is one of the chief enemies of mankind and its perpetuation will again bring destruction and misery upon the people of this and other lands, is it patriotic or unpatriotic to support it? The evidence convinces me that on sheer grounds of patriotism we ought to repudiate and abandon the war system. The truest patriot is that man or woman who most completely reproduces Jesus' way of life, who does most to reconcile the warring factions of God's family.

Loyalty to the religion of Jesus obligates each one of us to seek the ends which he sought and to use methods which are consistent with these ends. The great tragedy of history and of contemporary life is that professed Christians, in their group relations, have usually rejected the tactics of Jesus. It cannot be doubted that the method of Jesus in dealing with offenders was to overcome evil with good. It is equally obvious that organized groups have rarely used this method of maintaining security and justice. Herein is found the reason why we are still confronted with the imminent peril of war. Nothing is of greater importance than that this generation should recognize the full significance of Jesus' tactics and in all spheres of life resolutely adhere to his method of overcoming evil.

The tactics of Jesus cannot really be understood apart from a knowledge of the historical circumstances under which he lived. Of course, Jesus was a Jew, a citizen of a country that throughout his entire lifetime was in bondage to Rome. The whole life of his people—politically, economically, religiously—was dominated by Roman officials of various kinds. The Jews were a very sensitive people, hating tyranny and loving freedom to an unsurpassed degree. In the days of Jesus they were filled with an intense expectation of the coming of the Messiah, the son of David their great military hero, who should lead them in overthrowing the conqueror and in restoring the ancient glories of Israel. Armed rebellions against Rome were frequent.

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A knowledge of the historical setting of which Jesus was a part, and a study of the record of his life, make it unmistakably clear that the pre-eminent problem for the Jews of that day was how to recover their freedom. It was into such a situation that Jesus came with his challenge to overcome evil with good, that is, to live the family life at all times and under all circumstances, depend upon incarnated love, forgiveness and sacrifice for victory, and be willing to take the consequences. Evildoers, enemies, Romans: these words were synonymous to the Jews. No wonder they chose one of their national heroes, Barabbas, "who for a certain insurrection made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison," and demanded the crucifixion of the one who had said: "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you."

By word and deed, Jesus repudiated the pagan doctrine of eye for eye. He would not forsake his own way of overcoming evil even to lead his people against Rome, as Judas Maccabeas had so brilliantly done in a previous generation. Instead he went about doing good, living consistently as a true member of God's family, loving, serving, trusting, forgiving, suffering, rejoicing. He would not abandon this manner of life even to avoid crucifixion. In his scale of values consistent devotion to an ideal was more important than his own life.

When we look at the Cross of Calvary, therefore, we see God's way and Jesus' way of overcoming evil. In a wicked world where there is a struggle between the unrighteous and the righteous, someone must suffer, someone must die. Self-preservation is the first law of life, declares the pagan. But on the cross Jesus says it is better for the innocent to die, if need be, than to abandon the family life by killing the guilty. God being what He is, and man being what he is, this is the way to overcome evil and to build the family of God. Here we have the supreme challenge of Jesus to his disciples in every age: overcome evil with good, love your enemies, forgive seventy times seven, take up your cross and follow me.

THE PATRIOT who believes that he can serve his country most effectively by using the weapons of Jesus, must be prepared to take the consequences of that manner of life. To resist the enemies of one's country with the weapons of war, frequently means the loss of a limb or an eye or even life itself. It is expected of a soldier that he will endure any discomfort or suffering which is necessary in order to win the victory. And so it must be with the Christian who would overcome evil by doing good. To overcome the armed enemies of one's country by depending upon the method of Jesus requires even greater courage, fortitude and endurance than is demanded of a soldier. Jesus recognized this fact and gave full warning to his disciples:

Behold, I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves . . . Yea, the hour cometh that whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service to God . . . Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit . . . If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.

The most extreme penalty that the Christian patriot may be called upon to endure is the temporary loss of political freedom rather than use the weapons of hatred and bloodshed. From the whole spirit and example of Jesus, clearly it is far more important that his followers should always live as good members of the Father's family, ever maintaining the attitude of love and forgiveness, than that they should preserve political freedom by violating the family spirit. Real freedom is deliverance from attitudes and practices which violate Jesus' way of life. "If therefore the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." To follow Jesus obligates one to love his countrymen and to seek after the highest ideals of his nation. But to serve as Jesus did may involve humiliation, suffering or death. The real question before us, therefore, is this: Do we have the love, the faith, the courage, the endurance to accept all that is involved in the patriotism of Jesus?

The Christ of the Andes

AFTER volcanoes husht with snows,
Up where the wide-winged condor goes,
Great Aconcagua, husht and high,
Sends down the ancient peace of the sky.

So, poised in clean Andean air,
Where bleak with cliffs the grim peaks stare,
Christ, reaching out his sacred hands,
Sheds his brave peace upon the lands.

There once of old wild battles roared
And brother-blood was on the sword;
Now all the fields are rich with grain
And only roses redden the plain.

Torn were the peoples with feuds and hates—
Fear on the mountain-walls, death at the gates;
Then through the clamor of arms was heard
A whisper of the Master's word.

"Fling down your swords: be friends again:
Ye are not wolf-packs: ye are men.
Let brother-counsel be the Law:
Not serpent fang, nor tiger claw."

Chile and Argentina heard;
The great hopes in their spirit stirred;
The red swords from their clenched fists fell,
And heaven shone out where once was hell!

They hurled their cannons into flame
And out of the forge the strong Christ came.
'Twas thus they molded in happy fire
The tall Christ of their heart's desire.

O Christ of Olivet, you husht the wars
Under the far Andean stars:
Lift now your strong nail-wounded hands
Over all peoples, and all lands—
Stretch out those Comrade hands to be
A shelter over land and sea!—*Edwin Markham.*

Pacifism and International Police

KIRBY PAGE

CYNICISM concerning the ability of international agencies of justice to enforce their decisions constitutes one of the highest barriers to peace. Agreement is obviously more effective than violence as a way to settle disputes between nations. War is undeniably a barbarous and destructive method of handling international controversies. Yet the peoples of the earth continue to squander their resources on armaments and to rely upon armies and navies for security. They are afraid to trust each other and lack confidence in international processes.

Much of the trouble is due to a false analogy. A very familiar argument runs this way: In any society restraint is necessary; force is essential to effective coercion; a permanent body of police is required to administer the use of force against wrongdoers; no such international police force now exists and it seems improbable that one will be created within the near future; therefore, the maintenance and use of national armies and navies are necessary in order to restrain criminal nations. This argument appears so reasonable that it is accepted without question by most people. Let us, however, examine its soundness more carefully.

Two tests should be applied to any use of force. First, is it effective? Second, is it ethical? Can the members of a local community adequately be protected against criminals by the use of force? Can force be used in such a way as to be ethically justifiable? It seems to me that these questions may be answered in the affirmative. To say that physical force is never defensible is to uphold anarchy. Personally I am convinced that a state of anarchy would produce utterly disastrous results. As long as certain individuals are undeveloped, undisciplined, diseased or depraved it will be necessary for the other members of society to protect themselves by the forcible restraint of dangerous criminals.

Can this be done in an ethical way? I think so. It is possible to use physical force in such a manner as to protect society and to aid in the restoration of the criminal to right relations with his fellows. By the use of force society may prevent certain crimes from being committed. By forcible separation from society for a period such influences may be brought to bear upon the wrongdoer as to result in his cure or regeneration. Forcible arrest and imprisonment may, therefore, conceivably accomplish the double purpose of protecting society and redeeming the criminal; that is, force may be used in a way that is both effective and ethical.

This is not to say that the present penal system is defensible or that capital punishment is justifiable. Too often our present society is dominated by the idea of revenge—so much punishment for so much crime. All too frequently our prisons are breeding-places for more crime. If society had the will to do it, however, criminals could be temporarily placed in an environment where science, education and religion could be combined in the effort to cure them of physical ailments, discipline their characters and instil higher ideals. In the case of dangerous criminals who are incurable, permanent seclusion from society may be required. I am strongly convinced, however, that capital punishment is neither effective nor ethical.

What about organized societies that become dangerous? How can a state be restrained from doing damage to a neighbor? By what means can an interstate agency of justice enforce its decisions? What methods are effective? Which ones are ethical? The experience of the Supreme Court of the United States sheds light on these questions. In the first place, it is important to remember that two kinds of cases come before the Supreme Court: sometimes a judgment of the Court is against an individual or a corporation, sometimes it is against a state. The strategy of the Court differs sharply in the two varieties of cases. A decision against an individual or corporation will be enforced if necessary by calling upon the sheriff or police, whereas in a hundred and forty years the Court has never called for the use of physical force against a state. In the former cases, force may be used effectively and ethically, while in the latter the opposite is true.

Upon what does the Supreme Court rely for the enforcement of its decisions against states? The expressed willingness of the respective states to abide by its judgments and the power of public opinion, upon these and these alone has the Court relied. One of its decisions was flagrantly disregarded and in several other cases long delays occurred before the judgment was accepted by the respective states. Yet the Court has never sought to use armed force against a state. In 1792 an individual named Chisholm sued the state of Georgia and was awarded a judgment by the Supreme Court. Whereupon the legislature of Georgia not only refused to pay the money due but passed a law declaring that any person attempting to enforce the Court's decision would be "guilty of felony" and would "suffer death by being hanged." What did the Supreme Court do in the face of this insubordination and insult? Those who reason by analogy are likely

order to give the farmer the benefit of the tariff on his products, the McNary-Haugen Bill undertook by its machinery to take this surplus off the market, sell it abroad and then, in effect, levy an assessment on the producers to bear this loss. If this could be done, it is admitted that the domestic price would rise to the level of the tariff wall. In other words, the McNary-Haugen Bill undertook to give to the farmers the benefit of the tariff.

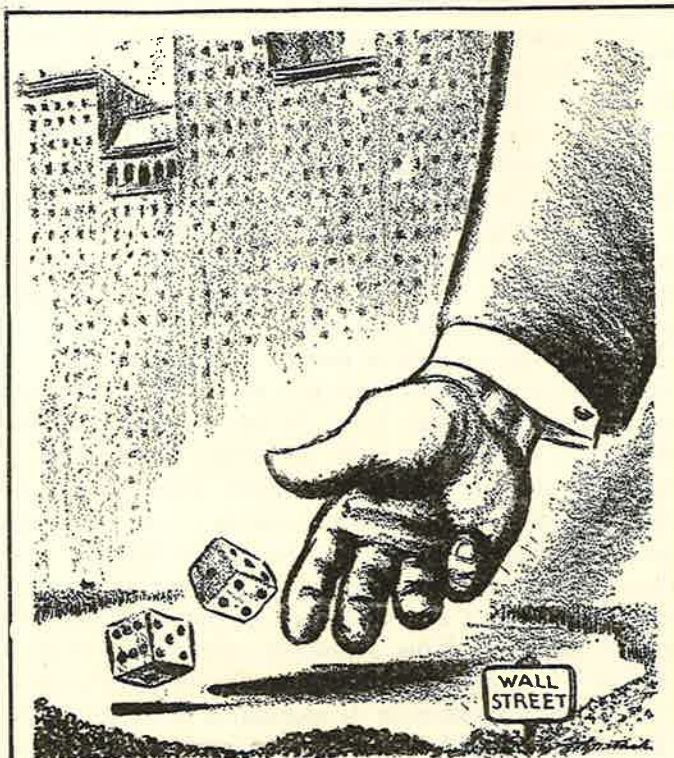
But that necessarily includes the equalization fee. This money, advanced by the Government and then collected from the farmers, is essential to the scheme. Without the equalization fee the McNary-Haugen Bill would be empty words. Still it should not be overlooked that the collection from the farmers again puts these at a disadvantage. The farmers themselves are to pay for the benefits they derive from this protection. The manufacturer pays no such fee for his protection.

This is the proposal before the country for several years, passed by both houses and vetoed by the President. The friends of the farmer have never been able to muster sufficient strength to pass the measure over the President's veto. Other measures would also benefit the farmer, particularly the reduction of freight rates and the organization of a market that is at once less expensive and also more direct, in other words, more sales to the ultimate consumer and the reduction or elimination of the middlemen. But the greatest promise at present lies in the McNary-Haugen Bill.

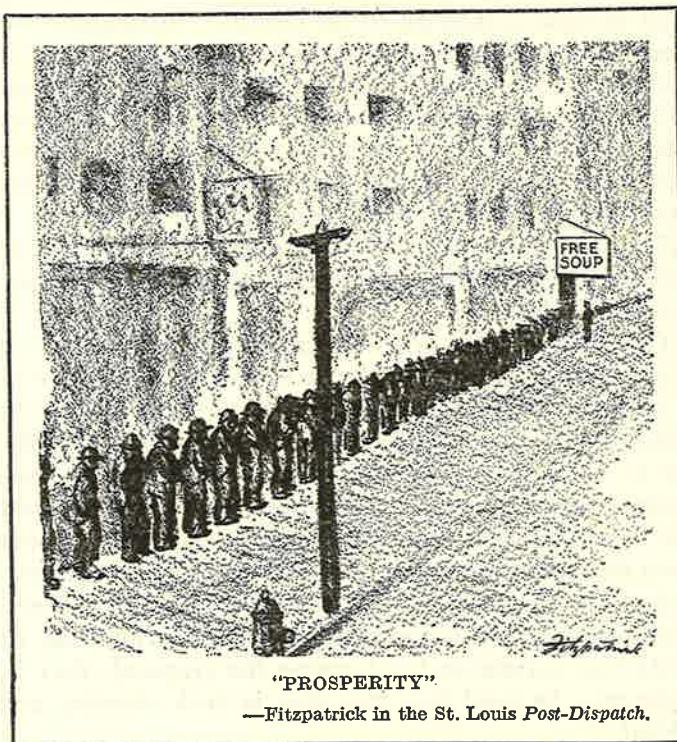
THE cry has gone up that the farmer is in politics. To one that knows, this sounds like a poor joke. Big Business is in politics. The railroads are in politics. All the trusts are in politics. Not only are these combinations in politics, they are in dirty politics. They are spreading propaganda from one end of the country to the other, deceitful in its nature and false in its very origin, and the peculiar thing about it is that all the expense, running into hundreds of millions, is charged to either the producer or the consumer, or both. The best illustration of this at present is the Power Trust which pours out money almost like water. It is attempting to prevent the full development of Muscle Shoals and is demanding a rake-off when the power of the Colorado is developed. Men who want to preserve the great natural resources for the people are ridiculed and wherever possible driven out of public life.

If the farmer is in politics, it is because he has a deep interest in regaining a fair chance for a living, in wiping out his debts, and earning a fair return on his products. This interest is shared by every patriotic citizen. Farmers are the backbone of the nation and any serious ill threatening them is certain to affect the entire country. But aside even from that every real

American ought to be deeply interested in helping this class, now trampled underfoot, regain those sacred rights which our forefathers supposed they had put in the fundamental law when they declared our independence. It is with these aims in mind that the farmer is voting in the campaign of this year.



THE NATIONAL SPORT
—Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.



"PROSPERITY"
—Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

to say that the law must be enforced at any cost, if necessary by calling upon the Federal Government for armed troops. What would have happened if a Federal army had started toward Atlanta? The result would have been war and the destruction of many lives. Under the circumstances the use of physical force would have been neither effective nor ethical. The Supreme Court simply waited. The other twelve states sided with Georgia. The result was the eleventh amendment to the Constitution declaring that the Supreme Court does not have jurisdiction in the case of a suit of an individual against a state. Which was better, to precipitate war or for the Court to be insulted and overruled?

In the case of Virginia against West Virginia there was a long delay before the decision of the Supreme Court was accepted. When West Virginia was formed into a separate state during the Civil War, it agreed to pay part of the Virginia debt. This promise was not carried out. In 1915 the case was brought before the Supreme Court and a judgment awarded against West Virginia. No action was taken by the latter. In 1918 Virginia sought a mandamus to compel payment. While the Supreme Court was considering the matter, West Virginia acted. Public opinion had been operating inside and outside of the state. The more conscientious citizens of the state had been endeavoring to persuade their public officials to fulfill the obligations of the commonwealth. Citizens of other states had exerted the pressure of moral condemnation. In time the pressure of public opinion proved to be sufficient.

LET us now consider the international situation. How can a criminal nation be restrained? How can an international body such as the Permanent Court or the League of Nations enforce its decisions? Those who reason by analogy are inclined to say that just as a police force is necessary in a local community so an international police is required in the world at large. This point of view was well expressed by Lyman Abbott: "The time is coming when all the military forces of the civilized world will be one police force, under one chief of police, with one international legislature to decide what is the will of the nations, with one international court to interpret the official and legal intelligence of the nations, and just enough navy to make the world safe, under a common direction and common control—and no more." This is, of course, a very extreme point of view. A much more common idea is that the respective nations should place armed forces at the disposal of the World Court or the League of Nations if required for the enforcement of international obligations. This latter attitude found expression in Article 16 of the Covenant of the League. In emergencies, after other

means have failed, the Council is authorized to advise or recommend that the members of the League furnish armed forces to be used against a recalcitrant nation. Thus far the League has made no effort to use armed sanctions.

In all probability the League could use armed force effectively against a small power, say Bulgaria or Greece. But in such a case armaments are not required. There are other effective ways of coercing a weak nation. Where a great power is concerned, however, the League dare not use armed force. Any effort to coerce France or Great Britain, for example, with armaments would probably lead to a general war, as the other nations would almost certainly be divided in sentiment. There is a rapidly growing conviction among League members that the armed sanction section of Article 16 cannot safely be used. The prevailing tendency is to look elsewhere than the League for armed security. Wherever the League could use armed force effectively it is not required; wherever it seems to be needed it cannot be used without extreme danger.

Moreover, if the League wages war against a recalcitrant power such action would create serious ethical problems. Innocent people would bear the brunt of that kind of war as they do in every other war. For every responsible official or citizen of the country being coerced who is captured or killed, there would be scores of innocent victims. War always kills ten or a hundred or a thousand innocent people for every responsibly guilty individual destroyed. Such a method seems to me to be entirely unjustifiable on ethical grounds.

Upon what coercive measures should the League rely for the enforcement of international obligations? Three mighty forces are available: the moral power of public opinion, the diplomatic boycott, financial and economic pressure. The first of these is by all odds the most important. Public opinion, however, will prove impotent in serious crises unless certain preliminary conditions are fulfilled. The nations must first outlaw war and commit themselves to the peace system. They must not only delegalize war as a method of settling international controversies, they must demonstrate their faith in one another and in the processes of peace by drastic reductions in armaments. Before they will be ready to do this, however, an effective peace system must be created. The structure of peace must include: (1) diplomacy, (2) conciliation, (3) arbitration, (4) international courts, (5) regular international conferences to consider economic and political questions, (6) permanent international administrative agencies, such as the League of Nations, the International Labor Office, the Pan American Union, etc., (7) outlawry treaties, (8) disarmament.

Fortunately, this structure of peace is rapidly be-

ing strengthened. It is probably true to say that more progress in this regard has been made in the past decade than during the previous century. We are approaching the time when public opinion will prove to be the most effective factor in securing the observance of international obligations. There is reason to believe that the United States is now prepared to go as far as the signatories of Locarno, the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland have already gone in delegating war. Those Americans who are fearful that the present negotiations between the United States and five other great powers for an outlawry treaty may not be successful should take hope from the fact that numerous treaties of this character have recently been ratified in Europe. The Locarno signatories, for example, "mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other." The only reservations have to do with "the right of legitimate defense" and the provision for collective action against a signatory which violates the pact. Secretary Kellogg and Senator Borah have said emphatically that the draft treaty presented by the former in no way deprives the signatories of the right of self-defense or the right to act collectively against a violator of the agreement. That is to say, Locarno goes quite as far toward the outlawry of war as does the Kellogg draft treaty, the major differences being that (1) it is hoped that the latter may become universal and (2) the latter does not *bind* (it merely *permits*) any signatory to act collectively with other signatories against a violator of the treaty, as is the case with Great Britain and Italy in the Locarno pact. Both treaties, however, outlaw war "as an instrument of national policy." Some of the Scandinavian treaties outlaw war without reservation and contain no commitments to collective action against a violator. They go even further than the proposed Kellogg treaty because they bind the signatories to conciliation and arbitration of all controversies without any exceptions.

When the nations, including the United States, are prepared to delegatize war and to use the various devices for the peaceable adjustment of disputes—diplomacy, conciliation, arbitration, judicial decision, international conferences and permanent international agencies of justice—armed force will not be needed, any more than it is required by the Supreme Court. The respective peoples of the world have continued to maintain heavy armaments primarily because they have been afraid not to do so. A psychology of peaceable settlement is now being created. Public opinion against war and in favor of peace is everywhere gaining in influence. Let us illustrate how public opinion would operate in a crisis.

Suppose the United States has entered into a multilateral outlawry treaty and has committed itself to the amicable adjustment of all disputes with other

nations. Then suppose that the United States violates this agreement and takes aggressive action against another country. In that event, how could the other nations restrain this country? Only by public opinion. Because of our size and strength the effort to coerce us with armaments would almost certainly result in a long and disastrous war. We are so nearly self-sufficing that economic pressure would not be effective. In our case armaments and economic measures would not be needed. Under the conditions specified if it could be clearly demonstrated that we had committed an international crime, there are sufficient honorable and high-minded citizens in this country to compel our government to observe its international obligations. Public opinion inside this country could be greatly reinforced by world-wide condemnation of our outrageous conduct. If, however, any effort were made to use armaments against us, the effect would be to unite the country behind our government, whether it was right or wrong. Armaments paralyze public opinion. When people cease to rely upon armed force, they strengthen the power of public opinion in their own countries and abroad.

If a belligerent government knew in advance that it would be subjected to a diplomatic boycott in the event of a gross breach of its international obligations, such knowledge would act as a deterrent. A diplomatic boycott produces disastrous results. Trade and commerce are seriously affected. Normal intercourse is dislocated. In numerous ways the citizens of the boycotted country are penalized. Moreover, a diplomatic boycott does not have to be universal to be effective. For example, if Italy were ostracized diplomatically by Great Britain, Germany, France and the United States, the consequences would be very serious for the citizens of that land.

The diplomatic boycott could also be supplemented in extreme cases by financial and economic pressure. Only two or three nations in the world can long survive economic isolation. Certain economic measures are open to the same ethical objection as apply to war. An economic blockade may develop into the worst kind of war. A complete and universal economic boycott would also be as deadly as war. But certain types of financial and economic measures—the refusal to make loans, the boycott of specified exports and imports, etc.—could be adopted without causing starvation or loss of life.

The difficulties of applying diplomatic and financial sanctions are admittedly very great. In all probability such processes would not be required, if the nations would outlaw war and commit themselves to the processes of peace. During the interim, while peoples are becoming accustomed to depending upon international agencies of justice, it may be necessary to reassure them by providing diplomatic and economic

sanctions to be used in extreme cases of international peril. For this reason it seems to me that, while the armed guarantees of Locarno are dangerous, it is better to have the Locarno treaties even with these provisions than not to have had these treaties at all.

WHAT should be the attitude of a pacifist toward the League of Nations? Should he uphold the League as long as the Covenant authorizes the use of armed sanctions? Should an American pacifist advocate the entrance of the United States into the League? My own position is this: since I am not an anarchist, and since, therefore, I believe in government, I am prepared loyally to support the government of this country. This does not mean that I approve of all its practices and institutions or pledge unqualified obedience to any administration that may happen to be in power. As a pacifist I am naturally opposed to the use of the army and navy against other peoples and certainly will not participate directly in any war, certain forms of indirect participation being quite unavoidable. I believe that I can prove my loyalty to the people and ideals of my country more effectively in

other ways than by going to war. By the same line of reasoning, I am an ardent believer in the League of Nations as a necessary international agency, although I am utterly opposed to several of its provisions, including the use of armed sanctions. In my opinion the United States could render a greater contribution to world peace by immediately entering the League, with the understanding that it is not being committed to the use of armed sanctions, than by staying on the outside.

Peaceable sanctions will not prove to be effective unless the nations can learn patience. Immediate results are not always possible. The ultimatum method will continue to have disastrous results. The Supreme Court of the United States could not have survived and gained steadily in prestige and influence unless it had been willing to be insulted and to have its decisions flaunted, rather than to attempt armed coercion of states. International agencies will not always be able to secure immediate or entirely satisfactory results. The peoples of the world must learn to run risks on behalf of peace, as well as in war, and to take the consequences of relying upon the processes of peace, as well as to bear the burdens of waging war.

Happiness Is What We're For!

SARAH N. CLEGHORN

I USED to enjoy going to church very much, when I was young. But even then, in my youth so full of sobriety and Matthew Arnold, I often wondered why joy and delight entered into the religious vocabulary so seldom and in such a hushed and chastened tone. "The Christian ought of all people to be the cheerfulest," I used to hear people say; and mention would be made in sermons of invalids whose bright smiles and nobly objective interests in life were "an inspiration" to everybody who went to see them. But on some winter morning in Vermont when divine health and a sort of passionate serenity flooded all through a young creature, the difference was very obvious between the acquired habit of cheerfulness and the bright startle of happiness.

Though the prophets had foretold that Jesus would be a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, and though the painters had usually so portrayed him, I was aware of the occasional attempts made by preachers and in religious periodicals to describe him as a lover of simple human happiness and a partaker of it. In this connection I sometimes heard the claim that Jesus had a strong sense of humor—as if a sense of humor, far from always indicating a state of happiness, were not very often the accompaniment of a sor-

rowfully ironic mood, intensely aware of disillusion! However, the over-emphasis commonly laid upon the sufferings and death of Jesus were partly lifted off by these sermons and articles, and the Christian then seemed to be authorized, on the whole, to drink in the sunshine of life with comparative freedom and gayety. But then the effect of religious biographies very often undid all this. Bunyan and Fox and St. Catherine of Siena and most other saints and heroes of the faith had reproached themselves for the merry moods they had once thoughtlessly indulged in; and they seldom reached the overwhelming bliss of mystic expansion until they had been through prolonged states of melancholy.

I was not really so much bothered by this as I may be implying. When life is bright and sweet, it bathes the spirit with its joy, and nothing in the mood and manner of religion can really spoil it, though these may cause us to assume a somewhat hypocritical soberness of demeanor. But I was aware of a much more troublesome incompatibility between the deep joy of the Christian life and the humanly joyous life of normal man. Poverty, sickness and other preventable calamities were, I knew, perpetually grieving and wounding our brothers all around us; and if we spent our time

Substitutes for War

KIRBY PAGE

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1929

William James, the philosopher, was on the right track when he emphasized the need for a moral equivalent of war, but he did not go far enough. What we need imperatively is a *political* equivalent of war. Here in the United States there is a widespread tendency to view with alarm any suggestion that our Government should join in a cooperative effort to solve the political problems of the world. We are inclined to overlook the fact that wars are caused by political action and can only be prevented by political action. Most students of world problems are agreed that wars emerge primarily out of economic controversies. But it is not economic competition as such that produces war; wars come because of the political acts of governments in support of the respective trade rivals.

The Value of the Pact of Paris

If war is to be abolished, therefore, the governments of the world must create an adequate political substitute; that is, ways and means of settling the various controversies that may arise. The most important first step is to de-legalize war itself as a means of attempting to solve international problems. Fortunately, the nations are moving rapidly in this direction. If the two main articles of the Pact of Paris stood by themselves and were not devitalized by the accompanying reservations, the legality of war would be abolished. It seems to me that there are three important aspects to this treaty: first, its significance if the governments had made no reservations; second, the real meaning of the reservations; and third, the additional measures required. With regard to the first of these points, it seems to me difficult to exaggerate the importance of the unqualified renunciation of war by the respective nations of the world. On the face of them these words commit the signatories to the pacific settlement of every conceivable controversy which may arise among them. The moral and psychological effects of such a treaty are simply incalculable. A new day will indeed have dawned when international law is on the side of peace rather than on the side of war.

It must be admitted, however, that the qualifications and

reservations set forth in the accompanying notes have done much to destroy the value of the treaty. The most conspicuous weakness of the Pact seems to me to be found in the understanding that each nation reserves the right to wage war in self-defense and to decide for itself when it is acting in self-defense. As long as this understanding prevails the treaty will be of little value in a severe crisis. Moreover, if the United States is to exclude the Monroe Doctrine from the scope of the treaty, and if Britain is to be allowed to claim an even more inclusive doctrine, it is folly to say that war is really outlawed. Fortunately, however, these interpretations do not form an integral part of the treaty. The document signed at Paris simply declares that war is renounced as an instrument of national policy and that all disputes will be settled by pacific means. Our next effort, therefore, should be to create the kind of public opinion that will demand the withdrawal of these nullifying interpretations.

Arbitration and Law in Place of War

But even if the renunciation agreement were not qualified in any way, whatever, it would still be utterly inadequate to insure the peace of the world. The nations must now go forward with the creation and strengthening of the agencies for pacific settlement of disputes. Fortunately, here also substantial progress is being made. That conciliation and arbitration are necessary to the pacific solution of international controversies is now being widely recognized. The creation of conciliation commissions and the willingness to wait for an inquiry and report are more significant than is generally realized. A cooling off period may prevent war. Progress is also being made in the realm of arbitration. Numerous all-inclusive arbitration treaties have already been negotiated. There is reason to believe that before many years the respective nations will be willing to commit themselves to the practice of compulsory arbitration.

International adjudication is likewise indispensable. If all of the nations were members of the Permanent Court of International Justice and if they would all sign the optional clause and thus accept the affirmative jurisdiction of that body, such action would constitute a very long step toward permanent peace.

Agreement by Conference

Adequate provision must also be made for international conferences. In the last analysis, the only substitute for war is *agreement*, and agreements cannot be reached unless an adequate mechanism is available in time of crisis. No renunciation treaty will prove effective in grave emergencies unless the nations are able to reach agreements concerning such important questions as tariffs and the control of trade routes. Raw materials and markets are so essential to industrial nations that if they cannot retain uninterrupted access to these resources by peaceable means, they will go to war. The economic problems of mankind are so titanic in dimensions and so complex in nature that many, many conferences will be necessary before satisfactory agreements can be reached. It seems to me that the League of Nations and the International Labour Office have an indispensable part to play in assembling such gatherings.

Agreement about What?

Agreements must also be reached concerning the changing of inequitable treaties and the remedying of unjust conditions. It is folly to expect permanent peace as long as millions of people are the victims of glaring injustice. If the nations want permanent peace, therefore, it is imperative that they develop a technique for the remedying of these intolerable wrongs. In the meantime, the citizens of these regions are confronted with a dilemma from which there is no immediate escape. The tragic truth is that there is no possible way in the near future to remedy the evils created by the peace treaties. Does any sane person believe that the Hungarians, Austrians, Bulgarians and Germans would secure justice by another war? The last state would be worse than the first. Many of the peace treaties must be revised before the sores of Europe can be healed. But the only way to accomplish this is by agreement. And agreement will not be possible until the passions of war die down and the nations feel a sense of security. The maintenance of the status quo for a number of years is imperative. Otherwise hate and fear will prevent the peaceable improvement of intolerable situations. The members of the League, however, will make a fatal error if they postpone indefinitely the task of remedying the wrongs committed by the peace treaties.

Agreements must also be reached concerning the action to be taken against treaty-breaking states. The Pact of Paris will be ineffective as long as there is uncertainty on this point. If each nation has the right to wage war in self-defense and to decide when such a course is necessary, and there is no agreement on the part of the other powers as to what they will do in such an eventuality, the treaty is likely to break down in time of emergency. My own conviction is that armed sanctions will not operate satisfactorily when they are really needed, and when it appears probable that they would be effective, it will be found that non-violent means are available. It is imperative that the nations gather together in conference sufficiently often until they have worked out a technique of non-violent coercion of recalcitrant powers. International administrative bodies are likewise a necessary part of the structure of peace. Agreements will prove to be ineffective unless they are properly carried out. To this end permanent executive agencies are needed. Here again the League of Nations and the I.L.O. are absolutely necessary.

No Peace Without Disarmament

There is one other aspect of the problem that deserves emphasis. Even if war is renounced and an adequate structure of international peace created, war will still be a menace as long as the nations are heavily armed. Drastic reductions in armies and navies are essential to the preservation of peace. The kind of agreement which was reached at the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armaments must be greatly extended and made to include all aspects of military and naval preparedness before we can have any assurance that war has been abolished.

Needed Courageous and Daring Public Opinion

For the first time in history humanity is now within sight of permanent peace. The goal is still distant and many high barriers must be surmounted but the way is open before us. If the peoples of the different countries will rise up and demand that governments take seriously the commitments of the multilateral pact, the probability of war can be removed within the lifetime of this generation. If the two primary articles stood alone and really meant what they say, they would constitute one of the

greatest revolutions in history. War is one of the most ancient and deeply rooted of human institutions. From the earliest dawn man has gone forth to battle and the soldier has ever been glorified in song and verse. Patriotism and religion have been enlisted under the martial banner. Mothers have given sons, and wives have sent husbands. Nation after nation has poured out its treasure and blood in the carnage of battle.

Yet this ancient evil can be abolished. Suicide is not a necessity. Mankind is not bankrupt of intelligence and courage. The steps before us are these : eliminate the qualifying interpretations and let the multilateral pact stand as mankind's simple declaration of purpose to renounce war for ever and to settle all disputes of whatever nature by pacific means ; proceed seriously with the task of creating and strengthening the international organization required for conciliation, arbitration, judicial decision, conference, administration, and emergency action ; cease to rely upon armaments and armed sanctions ; proceed with drastic reductions in armies and navies ; abandon armed intervention and coercive control of other people ; devote time and money to a world-wide campaign of education for peace and friendship. These steps, if taken, would not bring us instantly to the millennium. But they would lead to far greater security than can ever be attained by battleships and battalions of armed men. Moreover, they would carry us beyond the probability of further war.

We can have peace in our time if we desire it with sufficient earnestness. The multilateral treaty may yet prove to be the charter of emancipation for mankind. Only we must not falter. Resolutely we must take the necessary steps one by one. To rely upon the pact as interpreted in the accompanying notes would be simply to toss away humanity's glorious opportunity. To move forward timidly for fear of treading upon some deep-rooted prejudice or of encountering some political shibboleth will be to miss the chance of a thousand years. This is no time to soft-pedal on the Permanent Court, the League, disarmament, or the abandonment of intervention and coercive imperialism. The occasion demands a tidal wave of public opinion. Let the people rise up and insist that governments cease playing with the destiny of the human race. One step will not take us out of danger, but many steps will lead to security and peace. Courage and daring are desperately needed by the peace forces of the world.

The Monroe Doctrine and Arbitration

By KIRBY PAGE

Editor, *The World Tomorrow*, New York City

THE recent arbitration treaty between France and the United States, which is being used by our Government as a model for treaties with other nations, excludes the Monroe Doctrine from its scope. We refuse to bind ourselves to arbitrate questions involving this famous Doctrine.

In the midst of our rejoicing over the fact that the old policy of excluding from arbitration treaties questions affecting national honor and vital interests has been abandoned, it may be well to pause long enough to examine carefully the nature and extent of the matters excluded from the jurisdiction of these new treaties. I shall confine myself to one of these exclusions.

What is meant when we say that we will not agree to arbitrate questions arising out of the Monroe Doctrine? Just what is the significance of the Monroe Doctrine? Is its exact meaning clearly understood and widely accepted? That it constitutes an extraordinarily important part of our foreign policy is obvious. But concerning its precise definition there is the utmost confusion.

"GUIDING STAR" OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY

For more than a century the Monroe Doctrine has played a dominant rôle in our relations with other countries. Oppenheim calls it the "guiding star" of our foreign policy. It has been invoked on numerous occasions. Our delegates to the Hague Conference were instructed to see that it was safeguarded. During the World War an official publication of the United States Government declared that "a

new Monroe Doctrine must be defended on the pathways of the seas and in the fields of Flanders." The Monroe Doctrine is referred to by name in the Covenant of the League of Nations. It is a favorite theme with campaign orators. It is highly charged with emotion. The American people are determined to preserve it at any cost. They are quite willing to fight for it.

Only a very few of them, however, know what it means. The situation has not been greatly clarified since Mr. Tilden observed that he thought the Monroe Doctrine might be a good thing if one could only find out just what it was. Twenty-five years ago an anonymous writer in *The North American Review* expressed a doubt as to whether one per cent of the voters of this country had any accurate idea as to the meaning of Monroe's pronouncement. John Hay once coupled the Monroe Doctrine with the Golden Rule as cardinal elements in our foreign policy. Twelve years ago Albert Bushnell Hart pointed out that "its meaning and immediate cogency are still uncertain and disputed." He expressed the opinion that it is "a frame of mind." About that same time William R. Shepherd referred to the Doctrine as "elusive in meaning and vociferous in utterance," and then went on to say: "Neither a principle nor a law, nor even in a strict sense, a policy, it is instead, a sentiment long cherished." More recently, Professor Shepherd has indicated the various stages through which this Doctrine has passed by the following interpretations of the initial letters, M. D.: Manifest Destiny, Masterful Domina-

tion, Money Diplomacy, Much Deception, Mainly Dubious. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt tells of a very religious Negro mother who named her two children Monroe Doctrine and Savin' Grace. It is not surprising that they soon acquired the nicknames Little Ducky and Say. Professor Hart says that "the number of doctrines since 1849 is about the same as the number of Secretaries of State."

INTERPRETATION BY QUESTIONNAIRES

The responses which I have received during the past few weeks to a questionnaire which I sent out make me believe that the ardently expressed hope of an orator at a banquet described by Philip Marshall Brown—"May the Monroe Doctrine be as liberally interpreted today as it was in the time of Washington"—has been realized. The Doctrine is still being interpreted as liberally as it was during the decades before its birth.

Questionnaires were sent to about 950 citizens representing different professions and varied points of view. About 350 persons replied, of whom approximately 300 answered the various questions.¹ Included in the list of those coöperating in the undertaking are sixty editors, thirteen college presidents, one hundred and forty-five college professors, twenty-two bishops and clergymen, as well as scores of lawyers, social workers, officials of peace societies, financiers, manufacturers, labor leaders, and other representative citizens. At least half of these persons are nationally known figures in their respective fields.²

The first question was this: Do you

¹ A detailed analysis of the replies to these eight questions will be found in the October, 1928, issue of *The World Tomorrow*, copies of which may be obtained from 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City.

² Included in the list are such leaders as Jane Addams, Felix Adler, Henry J. Allen, Mary

think the *original* Monroe Doctrine may legitimately be interpreted as prohibiting the *temporary* armed intervention by European powers in Latin America in order to protect the lives and property of their citizens? One hundred and forty-five persons replied in the affirmative and one hundred and twenty-nine in the negative, the remainder being doubtful or failing to express an opinion.

The second question was this: Do you think the *original* Monroe Doctrine may legitimately be interpreted as placing upon the United States the obligation to protect the lives and property of *European nationals* in Latin America? One hundred and fourteen answered "yes," and one hundred and sixty-five replied "no."

It is highly significant that a group of unusually intelligent and alert citizens should differ so widely in their interpretations of a historical document. The situation, however, is even more disturbing because many persons

Austin, Harry Elmer Barnes, Charles A. Beard, Edwin Borchard, Bishop Benjamin Brewster, Philip Marshall Brown, Richard C. Cabot, Stuart Chase, William L. Chenery, President Samuel Harden Church, Edward T. Devine, John Dewey, William E. Dodd, President Faunce, Sidney B. Fay, Lewis S. Gannett, J. W. Garner, Herbert Adams Gibbons, President William Green, Charles W. Hackett, E. Halde-
man-Julius, C. H. Haring, Robert Herrick, President Hamilton Holt, Clark Howell, David Starr Jordan, Clyde L. King, John H. Latane, Henry Goddard Leach, J. P. Lichtenberger, President Clarence C. Little, Alfred Lucking, Don Marquis, Shailer Mathews, James H. Maurer, Lucia Ames Mead, H. L. Mencken, Parker T. Moon, Bishop John M. Moore, Lt. Col. Mumm, W. B. Munro, Scott Nearing, President Ellen F. Pendleton, George Haven Putnam, E. A. Ross, Chester H. Rowell, Charles Edward Russell, Ferdinand Schevill, A. M. Schlesinger, Ellery Sedgwick, William R. Shepherd, Moorfield Storey, Norman Thomas, Bishop St. George Tucker, Raymond Turner, C. H. Van Tyne, Oswald Garrison Villard, Leo Weidenthal, William Allen White, President Daniel Willard, Bruce Williams, Rabbi Stephen Wise, President Ray Lyman Wilbur.

said frankly that they did not possess the necessary information required to answer these questions accurately. One of the best known columnists in the country, whose words are read daily by millions of American citizens, said: "I do not consider myself qualified to answer offhand the interesting questions which you submit." A president of a state university replied: "I lack the necessary knowledge." A professor in one of our best known universities wrote: "I confess with shame that I am not competent even to have an opinion." The head of the department of Political Science at a leading state university said: "I do not feel qualified at the present time to make replies to your questions that I should care to have recorded, even anonymously." A professor of Political Science in one of our most highly endowed universities replied: "Your questions fall so far outside the range of my information that I had better not undertake to answer them." An outstanding woman, one of whose historical works has been widely circulated, wrote: "I feel that I have not the necessary basic information to form quotable opinions on the questions you ask." One of the older generation of sociologists from a state university said: "You must excuse me from this. I have no claim to authority on this question." The editor-emeritus of a well-known religious journal responded: "I do not consider that my knowledge, or that of the average American citizen, is sufficient to warrant an opinion on any of these questions, and believe that they should be left to our governmental representatives. So far, I am well satisfied with the course of the present Administration."

CHAOTIC STATE OF THE PUBLIC MIND

Let me further illustrate the present chaotic state of the public mind on this

subject by a more detailed reference to the first and second questions. A total of one hundred and forty-five expressed the opinion that the original pronouncement of Monroe opposed and prohibited armed intervention even of a temporary nature by a European power in defense of the lives and property of its citizens in Latin America. From these answers one would naturally suppose that the Government of the United States in upholding the Monroe Doctrine would not only protest against any such intervention by European powers but would take steps to prevent such action. The historical facts, however, do not seem to warrant this interpretation.

Perhaps there is no quicker way to summarize the evidence concerning this phase of the problem than to refer to a notable address by John W. Foster, Secretary of State under President Harrison, before the American Society of International Law in 1914.³ After pointing out that the primary object of the Monroe Doctrine was

to prevent the permanent occupation of European nations of any territory of the American states or the overthrow of their political institutions,

Mr. Foster went on to say:

Succeeding administrations have repeatedly stated that European governments are free to make war upon the American states, or to resort to force to support their complaints, provided they observe the two conditions stated as to territory and political institutions. Several notable instances may be cited. In 1864 Spain declared war against Peru and Chile. After receiving assurances from Spain that it had no intention to reannex those republics or to subvert their political system, Secretary Seward, referring to the American states, instructed our ministers that "we concede to every nation the right to make peace or war, for such causes other than political or ambitious as it thinks right and wise."

³ *Proceedings*, 1914, pp. 120 ff.

In 1860 Secretary Cass informed the French representative in Washington that the United States did not call in question the right of France to compel the Government of Mexico, by force if necessary, to do it justice. In 1861 the Governments of Great Britain, France and Spain approached the United States with a view to securing its joint action with them in a military expedition to compel Mexico to satisfy their complaints for the murder of their subjects and destruction of their property. The United States declined to unite with them, but Secretary Seward said that the President "did not question that the sovereigns represented have undoubted right to decide for themselves the fact whether they have sustained grievances, and to resort to war against Mexico for redress, and have a right also to levy war severally or jointly."

A similar attitude was assumed by the United States when in 1902 the British, German and Italian Governments sent a naval expedition to Venezuela to enforce the claims of their subjects.

Many other instances may be cited for the forcible interference of European governments with American countries to redress the complaints of their subjects. France in 1838 blockaded the ports of Mexico as an act of redress for unsatisfied demands. In 1842 and in 1844 Great Britain blockaded the ports of Nicaragua, in 1851 the whole coast of Salvador, in 1862-63 seized Brazilian vessels in Brazilian waters as acts of reprisal, and in 1895 resorted to force to bring about a settlement of certain demands against Nicaragua. In 1897 a German naval force entered Port-au-Prince and under threat to shell the public buildings forced the Haytian Government to yield immediately to certain demands which the latter claimed were unjust and exorbitant.

Some years ago John Bassett Moore, in an article in the *Political Science Quarterly*, tabulated a list of armed interventions in Central and South America by European powers. In this article Mr. Moore said:

We have not assumed to forbid European

powers to settle their quarrels with American states by the use of force any more than we have hesitated to do so ourselves.

Secretary Cass wrote to our minister to Spain, on October 21, 1858, as follows:

With respect to the causes of war between Spain and Mexico, the United States have no concern, and do not undertake to judge them. Nor do they claim to interpose in any hostilities which may take place. Their policy of observation and interference is limited to the permanent subjugation of any portion of the territory of Mexico, or of another American state to any European power whatever.⁴

Secretary Seward, in a letter to our minister to Austria, on September 11, 1863, said:

When France made war against Mexico, we asked of France explanations of her objects and purpose. She answered, that it was a war for the redress of grievances; that she did not intend to permanently occupy or dominate Mexico, and that she should leave to the people of Mexico a free choice of institutions of government. Under these circumstances the United States adopted, and they have since maintained, entire neutrality between the belligerents, in harmony with the traditional policy in regard to foreign wars.⁵

Secretary Fish, in a report to the President, dated July 14, 1870, pointed out that the policy of the United States does not contemplate forcible intervention in any legitimate contest, but it protests against permitting such a contest to result in the increase of European power or influence.⁶

In 1897 the United States declined to intervene in the conflict between Germany and Haiti, when German warships were sent to the ports of Haiti. On the contrary, Secretary

⁴ J. B. Moore, Digest, Vol. 6, p. 478.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 491.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 431.

Sherman wrote to our minister to Haiti that:

This Government is not under any obligation to become involved in the constantly recurring quarrels of the republics of this hemisphere with other states. The Monroe Doctrine, to which you refer, is wholly inapplicable to the case, and the relations and interests of this Government with its neighbors are not benefited by erroneous conceptions of the scope of the policy announced by President Monroe and since strictly followed.⁷

Three weeks later Secretary Sherman again wrote:

You certainly should not proceed on the hypothesis that it is the duty of the United States to protect its American neighbors from the responsibilities which attend the exercise of independent sovereignty.⁸

In his annual message of 1901 President Roosevelt said:

We do not guarantee any state against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American power. . . . Our people intend to abide by the Monroe Doctrine and to insist upon it as the one sure means of securing the peace of the Western Hemisphere.

RESPONSIBILITY PLACED BY MONROE DOCTRINE

Let us now examine more closely the second question. One hundred and fourteen persons expressed the opinion that the original Monroe Doctrine placed upon the United States responsibility for protecting the lives and property of European nationals when endangered in Latin America. Many of those who replied said that this is a necessary corollary of our refusal to permit European governments to intervene. Here again one would suppose that the historic record would reveal

a consistent acknowledgment on our part of this responsibility. This, however, is far from being the case.

In 1914 former Secretary Root said:

As the Monroe Doctrine neither asserts nor involves any right of control by the United States over any American nation, it imposes upon the United States no duty toward European Powers to exercise such a control. It does not call upon the United States to collect debts or coerce conduct or redress wrongs or revenge injuries.

On the same occasion former Secretary Foster said:

The other misconception as to the functions of the Monroe Doctrine, based upon the false conception that we do not permit force to be used by European governments, is that we must undertake the enforcement of their just claims against Mexico or other disorderly American republics. From the language of that doctrine as announced by President Monroe we can draw no such mandate, and the history of our relations with the American states shows that such a procedure on our part would be unjust, if not impracticable. The position of our Government on this phase of the subject has been repeatedly declared. Secretary Sherman, in an instruction to our minister in Hayti respecting the troubles between that country and Germany, wrote: "This government is not under obligation to become involved in the constantly recurring quarrels of the republics of this hemisphere with other states. The Monroe Doctrine, to which you refer, is wholly inapplicable to the case."⁹ It is likewise a misconception of the doctrine to assert that it is our duty to interfere by force with the administration of the affairs of other American republics, when they fall into anarchy through their oft-recurring revolutions.

A CLEARER DEFINITION NECESSARY

Surely no further citation of evidence is necessary to reveal the chaotic state of the public mind with regard to this question. The recent action of the State Department in excluding the

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 475.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 476.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 475.

Monroe Doctrine from the processes of arbitration, therefore, opens the way for all kinds of abuses. Much of the value of the old type of arbitration treaty was destroyed by the exclusion of questions affecting national honor and vital interest. These phrases were so elastic that they could be stretched to cover any question which the Government was unwilling to arbitrate. Moreover, the very utterance of these words by responsible governmental officials releases a flood of patriotic emotion and passion. Citizens might be unable to define national honor and vital interest, but they would readily fight for them.

So far as questions concerning the Western Hemisphere are concerned, the exclusion of the Monroe Doctrine from arbitral processes is open to the same perils. These words also are charged with patriotic emotion and passion. The Doctrine might easily become a smoke screen behind which our Government could hide in the effort to avoid arbitration on almost

any question affecting the Americas, confident of receiving the passionate support of its citizens. Unless the Monroe Doctrine is more clearly defined or abandoned, it may wreck arbitration treaties at the very hour when these treaties are most urgently needed. It seems important, therefore, that several steps be taken before a crisis arises:

First, a nation-wide campaign of education as to the real meaning and significance of the Monroe Doctrine should be inaugurated and promoted with vigor and thoroughness.

Second, an effort should be made to induce the State Department to return to the original meaning of Monroe's words when using the phrase, "Monroe Doctrine," and to use other terms for policies subsequently developed.

Third, a steady effort should be made to reduce the number of questions excluded from conciliation and arbitration treaties and to enlarge the sphere of conference and coöperation between nations.

WHAT CAN THE CHURCHES DO ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF EUROPE

Kirby Page

EUROPE is pessimistic. She has reason to be so. Millions are reduced to the point of starvation. Public health has not been so bad since the Thirty Years War. Education has been set back for generations. Moral codes have been shattered. Unspeakable vulgarity and gross licentiousness everywhere abound. The religious life of the people is at a low ebb. The churches are practically weak and exercise only a negligible influence on public affairs. One does not need to be an alarmist to say that European civilization is seriously threatened. What can the United States do about this situation? Can we not agree upon the following points?

1. Out of our abundance, we can contribute generously toward the relief of the hungry and destitute. Whatever the causes and whoever is to blame, more than ten million people in Central Europe are in dire need. Obviously the humanitarian and the Christian thing to do is to help keep them from perishing.

2. We can aid in the creation and strengthening of international agencies of justice, through which law and orderly government may be substituted for international anarchy and violence. History seems to indicate that three phases of government are essential: legislation, adjudication and administration. It will not be sufficient for the United States to enter the World Court. Our entrance into the League of Nations is likewise imperative if Europe and the world are to be saved from extreme nationalism and

armaments. It will be nothing short of criminal neglect of duty if we fail mankind at this hour.

THE WISDOM OF "DEEDING IT TO THE CONVENTION"

Harry Adams Hersey

HIS is a true story, with names substituted. In the little town of Doerce, home of John Doe and Richard Roe, there was once a Universalist constituency. On two of the choicest lots in town they built a brick church, the best church in the community, costing \$5,000 then, but not replaceable now for less than treble that sum. From causes of which the deponent sayeth naught the church dwindled and became dormant. Certain betterments laid the defunct society liable to a tax of \$350. Now there arose in that town a certain Sorority, full of good works, and it said, "Give us the church and we will pay the taxes." And so it seemed good to the survivors to do, "for," reasoned they, "this will save the church from becoming an unsightly garage, or some other unlovely spectacle." So they elected a trustee to make the board complete, and executed a deed of sale "for one dollar," and presented it to the State Convention for endorsement.

Now it so happened that certain of the forebears, wise in their day and generation, had deeded the property to the State Convention, under conditions which specified that the Doerce church could not be sold until the Universalist society should cease to exist. In that event the church might be sold and the proceeds held forever as a fund for the benefit of Universalism in the state, with a preference for work in Doerce.

Thus the church can not be sold at present. The

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lands. Even so as the follower of Jesus moving through the dull or difficult experiences of life halts to discover the secret treasures they contain he finds there is rare reward in doing so—he acquires courage, patience, love. His earthly trials become of value beyond all estates, shares, gems, gold or bonds. The desert has yielded to him her treasures. If wise he retains them in his grasp when again he enters the pleasant country and once more participates in the lovely things of life. How often whilst touring the solitary places we fail to realize the years of happiness yet to be!

Some of us who have traveled widely have observed that often the serpents match the hues of the rocks or soil of their environments. But contrarywise, let us think of the gracious things of the desert, the marvel of the flowers. In the Karroo of South Africa there are little plants the color of the leaves and bloom of which imitates the stones amid which they grow. Their very shapes copy the broken rocks about them. You thoughtlessly kick aside a stone and, behold, you crush one of the tender plants of God. Even so may the tired Christian whilst passing through flinty places by gesture, or with voice do violence to his better moments and inadvertently trample on the material or spiritual aspirations of others who also are endeavoring to live above their solitude, their pains, their fears. May we remember

that we oftentimes hold within our keeping the faith and fortitude of others as they too tread the desert paths.

Is there enchantment in the desert? Is there beauty, fragrance, vision? At some seasons of the year their bare, bleak lowlands or mountains are bedecked with captivating flowers. We know of one vast desolation in Western Australia which claims six thousand different kinds of wild flowers, of which three thousand are said to grow in no other land. Is it not true that there is One who makes the wilderness to rejoice and blossom as the rose? Shall we trust Him? Is it not true that the followers of Jesus may sometimes be insulted or defeated yet, like their Master, who knew the loneliness of the desert, feel all the while their unseen nearness to their Lord? We obtain long views in the desert—we see wonderful things in its rarified, pure air. From amid the sands and thorns we very often gaze across great distances to the purple mountains crowned with glistening snow. O, you who read these lines, do not, in hours of weakness, forget to look away from the aridity about you up to the everlasting hills of God—they will renew your strength—the names of those who do so are recorded in the Book of Life. God never fails to finally lead or guide His faithful people out of the desert places into the Promised Land.

Foreign Correspondence

Fear and Hope in Europe

[The last three years Mr. Kirby Page, who writes the following letter, has been one of the leaders of the American Seminar, a group of Christian men and women who have visited Great Britain and the Continent as students of the problems facing humanity in its attempt to bring about the reign of real brotherhood. The "Atlantic Monthly" over a year ago published an illuminating article by Mr. Page on the situation in the steel industry in America.]

WE HAVE just returned from a most interesting and profitable trip to Paris, Berlin and Geneva. Some three weeks earlier we made a tour through the Ruhr and the occupied area around Cologne. In Paris we were privileged to discuss international and economic questions with a number of influential citizens. Receptions were given for our group by the Governor of the Bank of France and by the "Le Matin," the famous newspaper. We were addressed by M. Seydoux and Count Fleury of the Foreign Office and various other officials; Stephane Lasaunne, editor of the "Le Matin"; various business men, labor leaders and churchmen. We also had a memorable trip across the battlefields to Arras, Lens and Vimy Ridge.

In Berlin we were equally fortunate in being able to secure interviews with a number of prominent persons representing various point of view, including two members of the Cabinet; the American Ambassador in Berlin; Sigmund Schultze, the famous pastor; Director Voegler, chief associate of Hugo Stinnes; several important trade union officials, leaders of the German Red Cross, social workers, etc. We were privileged to secure seats for the Reichstag the

afternoon that Chancellor Cuno gave his last address, and followed with intense interest the commotion created by the Communists. While in the Ruhr we had an interview with the head director of the famous Krupp works. From Berlin we went to Dresden, Prague and Geneva for short visits.

I am finding it no easy task to reach conclusions with regard to the major problems over here, so complex is the situation and so contradictory is the evidence presented. Just now I am trying to classify and digest the voluminous data which we have gathered. I have tentatively summarized my chief impressions as follows:

1. The nations of Europe are desperately afraid—afraid of each other and afraid of the future. In France evidence of this fear is found on every hand and is not difficult to understand, especially after a visit to the devastated areas. France is afraid that her fair land will again be invaded, and that once more rivers will flow with the blood of her finest young life. In her fear she has ceased to have any confidence whatever in other means of protection than military force. She is, therefore, maintaining a larger standing army than Germany had before the war, when the mad race of armaments was at its height. In order to do this she is drawing upon her colonies for troops and scores of thousands of black troops are enrolled in the French army. The presence of these dark-skinned African troops—the French make a careful distinction between dark skins and black skins, hence their insistence that there are no black troops on the Rhine—in the occupied areas is having a most terrible psychological effect upon the Germans, especially so since they are required to maintain brothels of German women out of German taxes for these troops.

2. All the available evidence has convinced me beyond the shadow of a doubt that as a result of her fear and hate France is determined to crush Germany completely. To un-

derstand her present actions in the Ruhr it is necessary to go back to the Peace Conference and to the secret treaties negotiated between France, Russia, England and Italy during the early years of the war. These treaties provided that generous slices of German territory should go to France. During the Peace Conference, France insisted not only upon the disarmament of Germany and the restoration of the devastated areas—in which the whole world joined her—but also upon the annexation of the Saar, the separation of the left bank of the Rhine from Germany, the military occupation of the Ruhr, the shackling of Germany's economic life, and a war indemnity far in excess of the preposterous sum finally set by the Reparation Commission.

It is well known that France was successful in having the major portion of her demands written into the treaty. We sometimes forget, however, that it was her insistence upon the permanent separation of the left bank of the Rhine from Germany, the annexation of the Saar and the military occupation of the Ruhr which almost wrecked the Peace Conference and caused President Wilson to cable for the "George Washington." France was finally compelled to yield her extreme demands—at least temporarily. All the evidence seems to indicate that those demands have never been abandoned and that she is as determined as ever to dismember and destroy Germany. Indeed, as we have often been reminded, Clemenceau said in the Chamber of Deputies that the Treaty of Versailles is only a means of continuing the war.

The penalties for failure to carry out the treaty—many of the provisions of which are utterly incapable of fulfillment—are so drastic that Germany is at the complete mercy of France. We were frankly told by French officials that they looked with favor upon the dismemberment of Germany, and that they thought this would be a good thing for the Germans as well as for Europe. Now that the United States has withdrawn, Great Britain is handicapped by colonial problems and weakened by the industrial depression, Germany is completely disarmed, France is at the height of her military power and is backed by a group of allies, she seems to be carrying out her original intentions. If she is successful it not only means the end of Germany as a world power, but also the political and economic chaos of the whole of Central Europe, with its seventy or eighty millions of German-speaking people.

3. The present policy of France is placing the moderate elements in Germany under a terrific handicap. The stronger the pressure of France in the Ruhr and elsewhere, the more certain it becomes that Germany will swing toward one of the extremes, communism or monarchial dictatorship, and that civil war becomes imminent. I do not for a moment believe that the German government has done or is doing all that it could to carry out the Treaty of Versailles, or that it has sufficiently curbed the power of German industrialists. But the fact remains that as a result of pressure from without the extremes are gaining in power at the expense of the moderates.

In spite of surface evidences of prosperity and the reports of tourists, I am wholly convinced that Germany is now in a desperate condition and that there will be indescribable suffering among the masses before the winter is over. As to the reasons why she is in this terrible plight much might be written. After a visit to the famous museum of war in Berlin—where one sees the glories of war and glimpses the part it has played in German history, and indeed in the history of Europe—I was haunted by the idea contained in that old verse, "They that take the sword, shall perish by the sword." Then, too, as I saw the hotels and pleasure houses crowded

with profiteers—Germans and foreigners—eating, drinking and being merry upon the very blood of the poverty-stricken masses I found it difficult to restrain my feelings. Especially was this true after a visit to the slums of Berlin and interviews with social workers and Red Cross officials who gave us descriptions and statistics of malnutrition, slow starvation and disease. But these millions who are suffering beyond description, were they guilty for the war? Are they responsible for the present situation?

What of the winter? What will starving and desperate multitudes do? No one knows. Everyone is afraid. There was general agreement among the persons with whom we talked that there is certain to be violence and a revolution of some sort before the winter is over. This morning's paper reports the mark at eleven million to the dollar, with unemployment increasing and conditions getting steadily worse.

4. The experiences of this summer have fully convinced me of the desirability and inevitability of the League of Nations if European civilization is to endure. There can be only one end to the mad policy of militarism now dominant in France and elsewhere. Not only Germany, but the whole of Europe will topple into the dust of chaos and decay if this policy is continued much longer. The only answer to national armies is conference and co-operation. I am more than ever aware of the failures and limitations of the League, but I am filled with admiration and hope at what it has already accomplished, in the most unsettled period of human history, in the face of giant obstacles, and without the participation of three of the great nations. I find it difficult to describe my feelings of humiliation and shame when I think of America—rich and powerful beyond all nations of the earth—attempting to follow an isolated and selfish course at such an hour of crisis in the history of mankind.

KIRBY PAGE.

The Playground and Recreation Association of America held its annual meeting October 8th to 12th. According to figures which they have compiled, where playgrounds have been established juvenile delinquency has decreased by forty-four per cent. Five hundred cities and towns in America, they report, are without a single playground or a single play leader. Naturally, the association believes that the work should be extended to these cities and towns. Of course, it also wants to strengthen the work already started.

We all know some of the reasons why immigrants come to this country. Abol Ghasen Bakhtiar, late of the Persian royal army, is now a student in Syracuse University. He walked from Bismarck, South Dakota, in order that he might see how Americans live, as well as because he enjoyed the "hike." He had taken breakfast on the first farm where he put up—ham and eggs, coffee with fresh cream, biscuits and jam. It overwhelmed him. "If I should tell my folks back home what farmers here ate every day they would think America was a fairyland." But a more important question is, Are American homes really happier than homes over in Persia?

Prayer, then, I say, is first and chiefly the establishment of communion with God. Praying is the clearing of the blocked roads which are crowded with all sorts of worldly hindrances. It is the preparing of the way of the Lord. When I turn to the Lord in prayer I open the doors and windows of my soul toward the heavenlies, and I open them for the reception of any gifts of grace which God's holy love may wish me to receive. My reverent thought and prayer perfects communion between my soul and God.—J. H. Jowett.

CHRISTIAN WORK

A Religious Weekly Review

October 4, 1924

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Kirby Page

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EDITORIAL

of Christianity. What was the result? The world took the new knowledge, and a great part of it turned away from Christianity. If churchmen, instead of denouncing, had taken to study, they would have immensely enriched their own lives. We now have come to terms pretty well with physical science, and pretty well with Biblical criticism, and the study of comparative religion. But we are now faced with the new psychology. Let us be careful not to repeat the old mistake. I believe that some of the teachings of some of the psychologists are untenable, but one has no right to say even that without being acquainted with them. We have a perfect right to criticise conclusions if we have examined the evidence, but we must not oppose any study in the interests of religion. I believe that the study of psychology is a very great help to a religious teacher, and its valid results should come in as precious material for him in his work. The people who cry out for what they call the simple gospel do not understand the world of to-day; they are not alive to its needs. The gospel, in the sense of a proclamation, is not enough; the world must have an applied gospel, and when you come to apply the gospel to life it no longer can be simple, for life is very complex. Christianity has to undertake the organization of industry and commerce on the basis of community-service first—this is no simple matter, but one that will require a vast amount of careful thinking and the study of many-sided problems.

Christianity has to deal with the international question—is that simple? If everyone of the men who have to draft a scheme for the reconstruction of Europe were a real Christian, and if every one acted in the spirit of Jesus, the thing could be done, but it would not be simple. Even then there would be a great variety of relations to adjust, of problems to solve, of questions to consider. They could not settle it by merely announcing a simple gospel. Rather they would need to be initiated into manifold wisdom. The Church has talked a great deal about saving the world, but the Church must wake up to the fact that if it would save the world it must know the world.

Once more. The same thing applies if we would make the ministry of religion a real help to people in their ordinary life. Nothing is more important for a preacher than to know human life at close quarters, in its joys and its sorrows, its duties and its disappointments. One of the preacher's mottoes should be: "Close to life." A great deal of preaching has been ineffective because it has been too aloof from the kind of life the people were living. So often the language of the pulpit has been to a considerable extent an alien language, the language of theological text-books. In our religious work for one another let us try to understand how people live, what impulses move them, what things cause them perplexity, what problems they have on their minds, what are the real difficulties with which they are contending day by day, what it is that gives them joy. We cannot minister to people unless we know them. If I am to bring light into a dark place I must know something about the passages that lead to it. And this knowledge is not a mere knowledge of facts, but the knowledge that comes through a sympathetic sharing of life. To live one's own life deeply, to draw very close to the lives of others, give them

sympathetic thought, and above all love, will enable us to serve men religiously, and help them in their everyday affairs by communicating with their deepest and best life. Preaching is not just telling the simple gospel. It demands a study of what is going on in the world, it demands some acquaintance with the complex lives of men and women, it calls for a relation of understanding sympathy which itself involves no small amount of vicarious suffering.

To sum up. If the sons of light, the people who have seen a vision of God, who have discerned, however dimly, the spiritual heights of character, are to be wiser in their generation than the sons of this age, the people whose horizon is contracted, they must bring their idealism, their spirituality, their religion, the strength of their communion with God into the lives of others, through knowledge of, and sympathy with, the world they would redeem.

T. R. W.

Economic Conditions in Europe

[EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE]

THE American Fellowship group, under the auspices of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, is just concluding two months of study in Europe. The party consists of approximately one hundred men and women from all parts of the United States. Among the persons who have been with the group for all or part of the trip are the following: Sherwood Eddy; President Maurer, of Beloit College; President Rall, of Northwestern College; Judge Florence E. Allen, of the Supreme Court of Ohio; Chas. Clayton Morrison, editor of "The Christian Century"; Nevin Sayre, editor of "The World To-morrow"; Ernest F. Tittle, of Evanston; Reinhold Niebuhr, of Detroit; Professor Norman B. Nash, of Harvard Theological Seminary; Professor Harry F. Ward, of Union Theological Seminary; Professor J. E. Kirkpatrick, University of Michigan; Miss Anne Guthrie, of the Chicago Y. W. C. A.; Ben M. Cherrington, of Denver; Professor Niles Carpenter, of Harvard University; Dr. M. H. Marvin, of Seattle.

During the two months we have visited London, Berlin, Geneva and Paris. In each of these places we have had the opportunity of meeting many outstanding leaders and have had presented very diverse points of view concerning international and economic problems. Among the men and women who have addressed us in London are the following: Seven members of the Cabinet, J. R. Clynes, Lord Haldane, J. H. Thomas, G. B. Trevelyan, John Wheatley, William Adamson and Arthur Greenwood; Professor H. J. Laski, Professor J. A. Hobson, editor J. L. Garvin, Studdert-Kennedy, W. E. Orchard, Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Eustace Percy, Graham Wallas, Robert Smillie, Lord and Lady Astor, Philip Kerr, Norman Angell, George Lansbury, W. L. Hinchins, Sydney Pascall. In Berlin we met members of the various parties, including the Junkers and the Socialists. Among the men who spoke before our group were former Chancellor Michaelis, Secretary of Labor Brauns, Count Harry Kessler, Professor Schuecking, Dr. Quitte, head of the German Peace Societies, Professor Adolf Deissman, Professor Julius Richter, Pastor LaSeur, and a brilliant Swiss

EDITORIAL

Wolfers, who is coming to America in a few months.

Various members of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, including Professor Manley O. Hudson of Harvard University, addressed us in Berlin. Count Fleury of the Foreign Office; Stephen Lausanne, editor of the "Le Matin;" M. Justin Godart, Minister of Labor; M. Georges Scelle, of the Ministry of Labor; M. de Peyster; Professor Nogaro, of the University of Paris and a member of the Chamber of Deputies; M. L. Jouhaux, general secretary of the General Confederation of Labor; Dr. Andre Monod, secretary of the Protestant Federation of Churches of France; M. Paul Fuzier, State Councillor of France, addressed us in Paris.

Several members of our party also attended the International Conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation held at Bad Boll in Southern Germany, where there were delegates from a score of countries, and where we met such outstanding leaders as Walter Ayles, member of the British House of Commons, who was in seven prisons as a conscientious objector during the war; Sigmund Schultze, formerly pastor to the Kaiser, an outstanding figure in the religious and social life of Germany, and court-martialed several times during the war; Dr. Ragas, a distinguished editor from Switzerland.

We have had so many different speakers and have listened to such conflicting interpretations of current events that it is exceedingly difficult to formulate any definite conclusions concerning the trend of events over here. We have heard extreme reactionaries, extreme radicals and all shades of thought in between. Out of it all, the following points seem worthy of emphasis.

1. On the whole conditions are very much better than was the case a year ago. The adoption of the Dawes plan has had a very wholesome influence upon international relations. The currencies of Germany and of France are on a stable basis for the time being. One has only to remember his experiences in Berlin a year ago, when the currency would lose half of its value in a few hours, to realize how great an improvement there is in the present situation. The economic conditions in several countries have improved during the year. There has been an improvement in the relations between England and France since the downfall of Poincaré. Ramsay MacDonald and M. Herriot have made a real contribution to the peace of Europe. There has been a general reduction of armaments during the year and there are now four hundred thousand less men under arms in Europe than in 1913. The influence of the League of Nations has increased during the year.

2. The economic struggle between the classes in Europe is far more intense and bitter than in the United States. Even before the war the standard of life in the countries of Europe was very much lower than in America. The enormous destruction of the war has placed an incalculably heavy burden upon the masses of the people. At the same time a relatively small number of people have grown rich out of the war and the chaos which followed. These profiteers from the various countries throng the pleasure resorts and spend their time in riotous living. It is this class of profiteers which is most visible to American tourists, with the result that many of these tourists are returning home with a wrong impression of the real economic situation over here. It is perfectly

true that in no country in the world have the war profiteers been adequately curbed, but in the aggregate this class represents only a small fraction of the population. The tragic fact is that scores of millions of people in Europe are living in dire poverty and many millions more are only a few weeks removed from actual want.

In England approximately one-third of the population are either below the poverty line or very little above it. More than a million workers are still being supported by the Government unemployment dole. The huge debt caused by the war places an enormous burden upon the tax-payers of England. Fully one-third of the total national income is claimed by the various tax-collectors; that is to say, the average citizen works eight months out of the year for himself and four months for the community. In Germany the economic situation is very bad indeed. Germany financed the war by taxation and internal loans. Due to inflation the mark became worthless. This means that the Government bonds held by the people are of no value. The real fact is that the German people have already paid in full for Germany's war costs of thirty-five billion dollars. The significance of this fact is better realized when one remembers that France has thus far been unable even to pay interest upon her debt to the United States, and that Great Britain has been granted sixty years in which to repay our loan of four billion dollars. Upon Germany has been placed the added burden of a heavy indemnity. Unemployment is now on the increase. A week's wages of an average worker purchases only sixty to seventy-five per cent. as much as in 1913. A considerable proportion of German workers, perhaps as many as half, receive less than thirty marks (about \$7.50) per week.

The financial situation in France is also tragic. The cost of the war and of restoring the devastated areas (seventy-five to eighty-five per cent of which now has been completed) has made it impossible to balance the French budget, and the national debt has increased at an alarming rate. The French debt now amounts to more than four hundred billion francs. The par value of this is seventy-six billion dollars, and if the franc is calculated at 5.5 cents the amount is twenty-two billion dollars. The national wealth of France in 1913 was only fifty-eight billion dollars, and is no greater now, even with the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine. That is to say, the debt of France at par value is far greater than the total national wealth, while at its current exchange value it is approximately forty per cent. of the total wealth. Interest on the internal debt alone requires more than half the amount paid by French tax-payers. This does not include interest upon the debt to the United States and Great Britain, none having been paid to date.

With these facts as a background, it is not difficult to understand why the economic struggle between the classes is growing more serious. In England the Labor Party is steadily gaining in power and the prediction is freely made that within five or six years it will have a majority in Parliament and will then put into effect its own economic program. There is every reason to believe that a violent revolution will be avoided in the British Isles. In Germany this is by no means certain. Everything depends upon the trend of international events. The Communists now have sixty-five members of the Reichstag. It is difficult to predict whether they will gain or lose

E D I T O R I A L

in power. One fact is certain, however, the class struggle in Germany is going to be exceedingly bitter throughout this generation. This will also be the case in France and in many other parts of Europe.

3. The international situation is still exceedingly dangerous. The acceptance of the Dawes plan has greatly improved the situation, but it should be emphasized that the adoption of this plan is only a mere beginning of the solution of the complex and dangerous problems of Europe. A generation of preparation for war, five years of wholesale bloodshed, and five years of chaos since the Peace Conference, have created a vast chasm between many of the nations of Europe. During this trip we have been impressed with the terrible misunderstanding, suspicion, fear and bitterness everywhere prevalent. Not only have we received contradictory interpretations of events in the different countries visited, but even within a country various groups have presented widely divergent points of view. Two speakers here have told us that there is no fear and no hatred in France, while both of these characteristics have been manifested to a marked degree by persons who have addressed our group. The tragic fact is that most people in Germany do not understand the point of view of the average Frenchman, while few people in France really understand how most Germans feel about the war and the peace. Tradition, passion and suffering have combined to make it difficult for these peoples to understand each other.

That the Treaty of Versailles is unjust in some of its provisions is generally admitted in England and by a smaller group in France. Most Germans, of course, regard it as an absolute violation of the Fourteen Points and the Armistice terms. Among the festering sores which are poisoning international relations are the prolongation of the Ruhr occupation, the continued occupation of the Rhineland, Danzig and the Danzig corridor, Upper Silesia, Memel, Vilna, millions of minority peoples scattered throughout a dozen nations. The economic and political rivalry between the various nations is keener than ever and is creating serious friction in many places. Notwithstanding the fact that there has been a reduction in armaments during the year, militarism still has its roots down deep in this continent. It is universally admitted that the race of armaments prior to the war was one of the main causes of that catastrophe. And yet there are almost as many men under arms now as in those mad days, and the blind confidence in military power still prevails throughout great areas. Military alliances have been entered into recently by several of the powers and there is a possibility that Europe may be drifting toward a new balance of power. These various factors have combined to produce a situation which in many respects is far worse than that which existed during the years prior to 1914.

4. The significance of the question of war guilt is far greater than is generally realized in America. There is a widespread feeling in the United States that the question of who started the war is a closed issue and should be forgotten. It is significant, however, that over here it is regarded as a very live issue and many of our speakers have discussed it. Naturally, these speakers have not all agreed. Most French people regard it as axiomatic that Germany deliberately planned the war and then waged it in a most barbarous manner. In England there is an increasing tendency to admit that Germany was not alone

guilty, but that the war was caused by economic imperialism, militarism, excessive nationalism, secret diplomacy and the lack of adequate international machinery to deal with the sources of friction, and that all the nations were in varying degrees involved in these practices. In Germany we found three points of view concerning this question. A small group of radicals say that the Kaiser and the Prussian military leaders were primarily responsible. A second group, composed of Junkers and monarchists, have pleaded that Germany was relatively innocent and that the war was really caused by Russia and France. A third group, and a very influential one, admits that the German leaders were guilty—one speaker emphasized the fact that they were also stupid—but that they were not alone in their guilt, that the leaders in Serbia, Russia and France were likewise guilty. Several speakers reminded us of the conclusions reached by Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, of Smith College, in the May, 1924, "Current History Magazine," to the effect that Austria, Russia and France were all more responsible than Germany for the outbreak of the war. They also referred us to the June, 1924, issue of the same magazine in which a number of American historians express substantial agreement with Professor Barnes.

What is the real significance of this discussion? What practical difference does it make who started the war? Suppose the guilt is divided, say sixty per cent on one side and forty per cent on the other, or even at the ratio of fifty-one to forty-nine per cent, what political significance does it possess at this time? One has only to remember that the Treaty of Versailles rests upon the foundation of German guilt and that the ramifications of this treaty extend throughout the world, to realize the enormous importance of this question of war guilt. If the guilt is somewhat evenly divided between Germany and Austria on the one hand and Russia, Serbia, France and England on the other, can the Treaty of Versailles be justified on ethical grounds? If the guilt is divided and it was just to force Germany to pay for the restoration of the devastated areas of Belgium and France, should not the Allies have paid for the restoration of East Prussia and for the enormous damage done by the blockade? What about the justice of depriving Germany of her colonies, while increasing the colonial possessions of the Allies, and of transferring the German merchant marine to the Allies? What about the justice of the seizure of the Ruhr and the prolonged military occupation of the Rhineland? If it is true that the Germans were exclusively guilty of causing the war, there may be some excuse for the harshness of the treaty, but if there is an honest doubt as to the sole guilt of Germany, what shall we say? More than one hundred million people in Europe deny the sole guilt of Germany and regard the Treaty of Versailles and the other treaties of Paris as unjust and iniquitous documents. The issues at stake are stupendous and this question of guilt is one of supreme practical importance.

5. Effective international agencies of justice are absolutely essential to the preservation of European civilization. The extraordinarily complex and highly dangerous problems of Europe cannot be solved by the separate action of the nations. Joint action is absolutely imperative. The brightest phase of the whole European situation is that the truth of this statement is rapidly being accepted

by the great powers and everywhere there is a tendency to strengthen the League of Nations and the World Court and to use them as agencies through which many of these problems may be solved. The presence of so many Prime Ministers at the Assembly of the League this year is a fact of great significance. At Geneva we had an opportunity to look into the work of the League. We were deeply impressed with what it has already accomplished in the face of grave difficulties and were made

more enthusiastic concerning its future possibilities. I am strongly convinced that every American who longs for permanent peace and justice should exert himself to the utmost to get our country to enter the World Court and the League without further delay.

Nine of us are just starting for Austria, Hungary, Roumania, Turkey, Greece, Jugo-Slavia and Italy. We expect to return home about October 1st.

Paris.

KIRBY PAGE.

THE OBSERVER

George Macdonald

[This page is devoted to a weekly letter recording the significant events and movements of the day from the Christian point of view]

THIS year marks the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of George Macdonald's birth and in Scotland and England much attention has been paid to it. Editorials have been written, sermons preached and finally the event has been celebrated by the publication of "George Macdonald and His Wife" by his son, Dr. Greville Macdonald, the well known physician and author of religious and scientific works. I have not seen this biography yet, but Mr. Coulson Kernahan praises it very highly in his long article on George Macdonald in the July number of "The Review of the Churches."

Mr. Kernahan does not exaggerate when he says that George Macdonald changed the whole current of British religious thought. I often wonder if any novel ever exerted quite the influence of "Robert Falconer" in the field of religion. It was to the liberal movement in religion what "Les Misérables" was to the humanitarian movement or "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was to the anti-slavery cause. It was also the first of the religious novels as far as Great Britain is concerned—precursor of a long and constantly growing list. (In America "The Minister's Wooing" and "Arthur Bonnicastle" were the first and attempted something of the same task Macdonald sought to accomplish in "Robert Falconer.") I suppose it is impossible for us today to realize how this novel fairly took the breath away when it fell into the hands of the Scotch Presbyterians and the English Baptists. We can form no conception of the newness of the words. It presented religion in a vocabulary unknown to the theology of the day. It presented the atonement in terms of love rather than of judgment. It represented God as seeking the sinner rather than being concerned solely in punishing him and it represented Christ as the human heart of God seeking and saving the lost rather than a staged figure upholding the moral order by His death. In other words it presented Christianity as a religion whose chief concern was redemption rather than punishment. To us who have come to hold this former view it seems strange that anyone could ever have held the latter. If we doubt this we have only to read the grandmother's words to Robert, for there is no doubt that the author makes her the mouth-piece of the prevailing theology, while Robert speaks for the new.

There were several preachers in Scotland who were preaching the new doctrine of the atonement as the expression of the love of God for His children, preachers who were many of them thinking along the same lines as Thomas Erskine. Macdonald himself was reaching many by his preaching, but "Robert Falconer" and "David Elginbrod" carried the gospel into every manse and even into the humble cottages. Imagine the sensation the following dialogue created when first read—(I quote it at some length on this hundredth anniversary because it is the most famous passage in the book and because it is the passage that was picked out for praise or condemnation in the sermons and reviews when the book appeared sixty years ago). It will be remembered that Robert's father had disappeared from all knowledge of his mother and his son after his downfall and he was forever the burden of talk between Robert and his grandmother, and the grandmother's prayers were forever for him. But she with her view of God has no hope, Robert with his view of God has infinite hope. The grandmother is insisting that the glory of God is the great thing, Robert is insisting that there's no glory to God like the repenting of a sinner and God's saving him: "I'm thinkin' it's mair for oor sakes than his ain that he cares aboot his glory." (I quote now from the book.) Mrs. Falconer speaks first.

"It may be 't yer richt, laddie; but ye hae a way o' sayin' things 'at's some fearsome."

"God's nae like a prood man to tak' offence, grannie. There's naething pleases Him like the trowth, an' there's naethin' displeases Him like leein', particularly whan it's by way o' uphaudin' Him. He wants nae sic uphaudin'. Noo, ye say things aboot Him whiles 'at soun's to me fearsome."

"What kin' o' things are they, laddie?" asked the old lady, with offence glooming in the background.

"Sic like as whan ye speyk aboot Him as if He was a puir, prood, bailielike body, fu' o' His ain importance, an' ready to be doon upo' enybody 'at didno ca' Him by

THE RAVAGES OF WAR

KIRBY PAGE

In the September number of this magazine Mr. Page will write of the moral and spiritual losses due to war

1921

ALL OF US have pictures in our heads. The nature of these pictures determines our attitudes and conduct. Walter Lippmann uses the word "stereotype" to describe these pictures. He believes that most of our actions are the result of stereotypes. No one can question the importance of having the right set of pictures in one's head.

On this question of war, all of our minds are filled with pictures. What is the nature of these pictures? They are often made up of brilliant parades, flying colors, martial music, gallant soldiers, thrilling deeds of valor, glorious acts of sacrifice. The enemy is often personalized as an inhuman monster, capable of any diabolical deed, exulting in the shedding of innocent blood, sparing neither helpless children, unprotected women, or the frail with age. The picture of war is usually tinged with deep emotion over the holy aims of the conflict—the protection of the helpless, the ending of war, the making of the world safe for democracy. These go to make up the picture of war in the mind of the average man.

Since war deals with a question which involves nothing less than the life or death of civilization itself, we ought to be sure that the picture of war in our minds is a correct one. Is it true that war is parades, music, courage, sacrifice, glorious ends? No, in our calmer moments, we know that this is not war. War is the occasion for these things, but is not itself an end, nor is it a spirit. There are ends in view in war, and war is waged in a certain spirit, but it is neither an end nor a spirit. War is a method. To say that the end in view is high and holy and that the spirit of the combatants is courageous and sacrificial beyond praise does not settle the question as to whether it is justifiable. If we want to reach an intelligent decision concerning the ethics of war, we must think in terms of its realities.

War is a method. It is a way of seeking to accomplish a given end. The objective may be good or evil. It is a method which may be used in one spirit or in another. What kind of a method is it? What are the attitudes and practices which are inherently and essentially involved in it? What are the weapons of war?

ON THESE QUESTIONS, we do not have to deal with academic theories. The tragic facts of the past decade are all too evident. What is war? It is machine guns, long range artillery, submarines, air raids, boiling oil, poison gas, death rays, disease germs. These are the weapons of war.

As deadly and as destructive as were the implements used in the last war, many of them are already out of date and have been abandoned. Only within the past ten days, a full page of the New York Times was devoted to an article by Colonel James L. Walsh, Chief of the New York Ordnance District, describing the military and naval progress made since 1918. Colonel Walsh says:

"War stimulates inventive genius. Few persons

outside of military circles know to what extent the invention of instruments of destruction has been quickened as a result of the great war lately ended. Since the armistice the range of guns has been doubled, the speed of tractors trebled and the destructiveness of airplane bombs increased tenfold."

He goes on to describe machine guns which fire 1,500 shots per minute and tells of the new "75's," which have more than twice the range of those used in the World War. Mr. John M. Browning of Ogden, Utah, is reported to have perfected an automatic cannon capable of firing one-and-one-quarter-pound shells at the rate of 120 per minute. Colonel Walsh informs us that while 400 pound demolition bombs were considered highly effective during the World War, the size of such bombs has now been increased tenfold, and 4,000 pound bombs are available for use in air raids.

ENORMOUS STRIDES are also being made in aviation. The best of the World War planes are now wholly out of date. The new planes have greater speed and much more dependability. An American aviator made a one-stop flight from Jacksonville, Florida, to San Diego, California, a distance of 2,275 miles. The giant airship ZR-1 has a cruising range of 4,000 miles. The writer has before him a map showing the commercial air lines of Europe. That continent is rapidly being covered with a regular air service. The enormous significance of aviation as related to any wars of the future was borne in upon the writer last summer when he flew from Cologne to London, during which trip he crossed the English Channel in exactly thirteen minutes. All of the European nations are strengthening their air fleets. France now has 174 air squadrons, with 1,562 fast line planes, with an air personnel of 37,730, while Great Britain and the other countries are making frantic efforts to catch up.

What will these 4,000 pound bombs contain as they are dropped from swiftly moving planes? There are several alternatives. First, they may contain the usual high explosive capable of destroying great buildings and doing enormous damage in a given area. Or they may be filled with highly incendiary substances and thus insure the fiery destruction of a city. Or they may be filled with deadly gas, and here also enormous progress is being made.

Mr. Will Irwin has described the Lewisite gas which the American government was producing in vast quantities at the time of the armistice in the following words: "It was invisible; it was a sinking gas, which would search out the refugees of dugouts and cellars; if breathed, it killed at once—and it killed not only through the lungs. Wherever it settled on the skin, it produced a poison which penetrated the system and brought almost certain death. It was inimical to all cell-life, animal or vegetable. Masks were of no use against it. Moreover, it had fifty-five times the 'spread' of any poison gas hitherto used in the war."

Or these huge bombs might be filled with deadly disease germs. It would be easily possible to start an epidemic of some virulent disease by a few well placed bombs. In this connection, General Swinton of the British Army says, "The great future weapon of war will be deadly germs. Since the war we have discovered and developed germs which, dropped down upon cities and armies, will slaughter a nation in a day. In the future instead of killing slowly a few individuals we will be able to wipe out whole nations at a time." During recent weeks, there has been much discussion of an invention by Mr. S. Grindel-Mathews for projecting deadly electric rays through space. Concerning this, Professor Bergen Davis, head of the Physics Department of Columbia University, says, "This invention is quite possible."

THE TIME HAS PASSED when wars were confined to a combat between soldiers in opposing trenches. A recent writer has described the change in the following words: "Let us try to envisage the war of the future. Wars in the past have, in spite of losses of men in millions, been simply killing by retail, chiefly by impact: a blow from a club, a bayonet thrust, a bullet, a charge of shrapnel shell. Projectiles of the past have been ejected from hollow tubes, rifles, cannon, mortars, etc., of limited range. One body of men has been pitted against another body in supposedly fair fight. The warfare of the future will be slaughter by wholesale. Its projectiles will be airplanes directed by wireless telegraphy, carrying deadly cargoes of poison-gas compounds from 300 to 400 miles. Already existing are such planes, competent to poison every living soul in an area 100 feet wide by seven miles long. A hundred of these in a single night could convert a metropolis into a necropolis, a city of rotting corpses; another flight of planes dropping phosphorous bombs would leave it a smoking ruin."

A famous British military officer has described warfare of the future in these vivid words: "I believe that, in future wars, great cities such as London, will be attacked from the air, and that a fleet of 500 air-

planes each carrying 500 ten-pound bombs of, let us suppose, mustard gas, might cause 200,000 minor casualties and throw the whole city into panic within half an hour of their arrival. Picture, if you can, what the result will be: London for several days will be one vast raving Bedlam, the hospitals will be stormed, traffic will cease, the homeless will shriek for help, the city will be in pandemonium."

THERE IS STILL another side to the picture of war which we ought to have in our minds. During the past century, there has been an enormous increase in the population of Europe. Europe now sustains one hundred million people more than could be kept alive under the old system of production when each nation was more or less independent. One of the terrible costs of war is that it dislocates the whole system of production and distribution which enables these surplus millions to be kept alive. A great war now breaks down the unity of the producing machine and makes an unworkable society. Proof of this fact is found in the state of affairs which has prevailed in Europe since the war. There is a good deal of evidence to indicate that the peace has actually resulted in as great a loss of life as did the war. It will be generations before Europe fully recovers from the economic consequences of the breakdown of her producing machine.

Another phase of the situation which needs to be kept in mind is the enormous burden of debt placed upon future generations. Mr. O. P. Austin, statistician of the Chase National Bank of New York, has recently published some data bearing upon the national debts: The national debt of France, for example, has increased from 32 billion francs in 1913 to 388 billions in 1923. The national debt of Italy has increased from 15 billion lire in 1913 to 117 billion in 1923, while that of Great Britain has increased from 716 million pounds sterling to seven billion pounds during the same period. The national debt of the United States during this time increased from one billion dollars to 22 billions. This enormous burden must be borne by generations of children yet unborn.

The Greatest Obstacle to Peace

WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN

MORE formidable than all the other obstacles to permanent peace is *scepticism*. We do not really believe—at least that is true of far too many of us—that a peaceful world is possible.

And there are plenty of people who are making it their business to reinforce us in our scepticism. In a recent address at the University of Glasgow, a distinguished Englishman summed up his conclusion as to the present international situation as follows:

"For as long a time as the records of history have been preserved human society has passed through a ceaseless process of violence and adjustment. This process has been sometimes pacific, but more often it has resulted from warlike disturbances. The world continues to offer glittering prizes to those who have

stout arms and sharp swords, and it is therefore extremely improbable that the experience of future nations will differ in any material respect from that which has happened since the twilight of the human race."

The spirit which inspired these words is our greatest danger today—the spirit which makes the past the measure of the future. Because men have fought in the past we must take it for granted that they will still fight in the future. When men hold up a different ideal, the ideal of a United States of Europe, let us say, when they suggest that we settle our disputes by peaceable methods and substitute law for force as the final arbiter in international affairs, they are sneered at as impractical idealists. This would be

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THE METHODIST BOOK CONCERN

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What to Do About War

WHILE you may not entirely agree with Glenn Frank's views as quoted in the box on the first page of this issue, or with all of Kirby Page's ideas, for instance, you probably will agree that war is a fearful thing and if possible should be abolished. But what can we do to prevent war? How can adult Bible classes participate in the movement for international peace? This issue of THE ADULT BIBLE CLASS MONTHLY will help the sincere Christian who believes it is God's will that men shall live together in amity instead of prepare for future strife. The article by Doctor Gulick especially will be found to be practically constructive and full of definite suggestions to the peace-maker.

OUR COVER shows a fleet of destroyers in a Pacific Coast harbor awaiting the dismantling process. It typifies the movement for disarmament.

KIRBY PAGE, writer of the first article in this number, is chairman of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, which seeks to bind together "for mutual counsel, inspiration, and coöperation men and women who are seeking to effect fundamental changes in the spirit and structure of the present social order through loyalty to Jesus' way of life." In its desire to avoid overorganization the structure of the fellowship is



Kirby Page

kept as simple as possible. Members of each group meet together from time to time without formal organization. Headquarters of the fellowship are at Hasbrouck Heights, New Jersey. Mr. Page is author of an important book reviewed by THE ADULT BIBLE CLASS MONTHLY for May. It is entitled *War: Its Causes, Consequences, and Cure* (Doran) and is issued in two forms—a library edition and a small pamphlet edition selling for fifteen cents. This work is a fearless arraignment of the war system and suggests action by churches, Bible classes, and other Christian bodies.

SIDNEY L. GULICK is secretary of the Commission on International Justice and Good Will and of the Commission on Relations With the Orient of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. He is one of the leaders in the interchurch movement for peace and is recognized as an authority on the relations of this country with Japan.

JOHN CALDER is an industrial expert and consulting engineer. He was formerly industrial adviser to Swift & Co. His recent book *Capital's Duty to the Wage-Earner* is recognized as a distinct contribution to the economics of modern industry.

The Adult Bible Class Monthly

SEPTEMBER, 1924

SPIRITUAL LOSSES DUE TO WAR

Kirby Page



THE PICTURE in our minds should include not only the physical and economic costs of war but also its moral and spiritual losses. In war the doctrine of military necessity holds sway. We do not ask whether the use of a given weapon is moral or immoral. We only ask: Is it necessary? Will it be successful? The soldier is not free to make choices in the light of his own moral judgment. His primary duty is to execute the decisions of his superiors. He cannot follow his own conscience. When a soldier does that which he is commanded to do in direct opposition to his own moral judgment he surrenders his moral freedom. This surrender is necessary to success in war. That the doctrine of military necessity is supreme in war is indicated in the following statement by Winston S. Churchill, former First Lord of the British Admiralty:

"The Great War through which we have passed differed from all ancient wars in the immense power of the combatants and their fearful agencies of destruction, and from all modern wars in the utter ruthlessness with which it was fought. All the horrors of the ages were brought together, and not only armies but whole populations were thrust into the midst of them. Every outrage against humanity or international law was repaid by reprisals often on a greater scale and of longer duration. When all was over, torture and cannibalism were the only two expedients that the civilized, scientific, Christian states had been able to deny themselves; and these were of doubtful utility."

Cogs in the War Machine

A soldier not only loses his individuality: he is lost

sight of as a person; he becomes a mere cog in the great war machine. Soldiers are pawns to be moved about or sacrificed at the option of the commander. Not only does the soldier become a mere cog in the war machine: he in turn loses the sense of the value of the enemy's personality. Coningsby Dawson, who writes

of the war from a high moral and spiritual viewpoint, bears eloquent testimony at this point:

"It seems brutal to say it, but taking pot shots at the enemy when they present themselves is rather fun. When you watch them scattering like ants before the shell whose direction you have ordered you somehow forget to think of them as individuals."

It has been well said that truth is the first great casualty of war. *Deceit and falsehood are inherent in war.* Not truth but expediency is the standard. In wartime every government systematically deceives its own people. A rigid censorship prevails everywhere. False reports concerning victories and defeats are con-

stantly issued. Stories of atrocities committed by the enemy are grossly exaggerated or manufactured outright in some propaganda office. Peoples are deceived by governments as to the real aims of war. Throughout the period of hostility a moratorium is declared on freedom of speech and press. All opinions that seem objectionable to the authorities are banned. Their offenders in this regard are threatened or jailed.

Religious Faith Shattered

There are other heavy spiritual losses also. It is impossible to estimate the number of men and women whose religious faith has been shattered by the colossal suffering and hideous injustice of the war. An

The Church and War

FROM the beginning of time war never has, and to the end of time war never will stimulate spirituality in anything or anybody. War is the utter negation of all that the religion of Jesus stands for. The state may spend its time dilly-dallying with the problem of war; the church dare not. If in the future the church is to be more than an exhorting ambulance driver in world politics, it must choose between Jesus and the generals.

It is so easy for the church to say that as an organization it will not bless any war, and then follow such an assertion with a weasel phrase such as "except wars of defense and wars waged in a righteous cause." As if any nation ever admitted that it fought a war that was not in self-defense or in righteous cause! Personally I believe it is wiser for the church to remain silent on the subject of war until it is ready to speak with a sweeping courage that will mobilize the mind of the world against war.

I do not say that we should not defend our land against invasion. I do not say that we may not be dragged into another war ever within the lifetime of my generation. All I say is that if we find ourselves dragged into war by the stupidity or the cupidity of political or industrial leadership, let us go into war honestly admitting that it is an ugly job that has been made necessary by the stupidity and cupidity of the human race, and not insult the name and disgrace the church of Jesus of Nazareth by fooling ourselves into thinking that we are entering a spiritual crusade.—*Glenn Frank in an address at General Conference, May 17, 1924.*

How Did Europe Get That Way?

Kirby Page

RETURNING travelers from Europe bring conflicting reports concerning conditions there. Some of them bring reports of prosperity, profiteering and luxurious living. Others bring exactly the opposite report, and go so far as to say that the very foundations of European civilization are crumbling.

There is a basis of fact for both points of view. It is unquestionably true that in all of the countries some rich profiteers are living riotously. It is also a fact that multitudes of people in all of the countries are living in extreme poverty, and millions more are on the verge of want.

See Pullman's Christian Advocate March 27, 1924

The
**CHRISTIAN
CENTURY**

A Journal of Religion

**THE SLOW RETREAT
OF SECTARIANISM**

By Alfred Williams Anthony

WHAT IS WAR?

By Kirby Page

*Methodist Quadrennial Conference Opens
Disciples Congress Held at Lexington, Ky.
Outside Speakers Help St. Louis Y. M. C. A.*

Fifteen Cents a Copy—May 15, 1924—Four Dollars a Year

What Is War?

By Kirby Page

AN ENDLESS AMOUNT of confused discussion could be avoided by a simple agreement as to what war is and what it is not. War is a method of attempting to settle disputes between nations, a method which includes preparedness, combat and further preparedness. War is a method and its use should not be justified simply because of a noble end in view. Neither should it be judged by the heroism or cowardice of those who engage in it. War is not merely the use of force. It is not the exercise of police power.

Let us examine more closely what war is not. War is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. A good end may be sought in a wrong way. It is not enough, therefore, to say that the objective of war is the protection of the helpless, the ending of war and making the world safe for democracy, we must also pass judgment upon the method of war. Is it a method which will enable us to reach the desired end? Does the use of this method violate our ethical and religious standards? Is any better method available?

WAR NOT COURAGE

War is not merely courage and sacrifice on the part of soldiers. True enough, millions of men do show great heroism and absolute self-denial in war. But this fact is not a justification of war. Courageous and sacrificial men may use wrong weapons or pursue unworthy ends. It is as a method that war must be judged. It is necessary to emphasize these two points because countless numbers of people have justified war on grounds of the end in view and the spirit of the combatants. Shall we sit idly by while helpless people are being killed? If we do not resist the armed aggressor will he not overrun the world? Is not the perpetuation of democracy worth any cost? Are not our soldiers manifesting great heroism and self-denial? Having answered such questions to their own satisfaction—that is to say, having assured themselves that the end in view is a very noble one and that the spirit of the soldiers is courageous and sacrificial—they proceed on the assumption that war is justifiable.

War is not merely the use of force. There is a widespread tendency to reason by analogy at this point. For example, the story of Jesus driving the money changers out of the temple is frequently cited as a defense of war. There are many interpretations of this scene but the most that can possibly be claimed is that Jesus used force to accomplish a good end. Reasoning by analogy, many reach this conclusion: Jesus sanctioned the use of force; war is the use of force to accomplish a good end; therefore Jesus sanctions war. The fallacy here is obvious. There are many ways to use force, some good, some bad. Force is only one of many factors involved in war. To say that we are justified in punishing a child by force is not the same as to say we are justified in using force in such a way as to cripple or to kill the

child. The use of force is non-moral, that is to say, it is good or bad depending upon the motive behind its use and the effects of its application. To reason by analogy from a justification of the use of force to a justification of war is to endanger sound decisions and may lead to disastrous consequences.

POLICE POWER

War is not the exercise of police power. True enough, there are a number of points of similarity between the two. But the points of divergence are so numerous and fundamental as to destroy the value of any conclusions based upon analogy. There are four fundamental differences between war and the use of police. (1) The police function as neutral third parties for the purpose of restraining criminals and bringing them before a judicial body for trial and judgment. In war, force is used by the belligerents themselves, no effort being made to bring evildoers before a judicial body, each army acting as judge, jury and executioner. (2) The police take action against the criminal himself; not against his family and friends. War does not deal merely with guilty men but destroys multitudes of innocent people; indeed, it does far more damage to the innocent than to the guilty. (3) There is a fundamental difference in the situation which confronts the police and the army. In order to protect society, the police are compelled to restrain or change the criminal, himself, whereas in a national situation, it is possible to deal with criminal rulers or officials by strengthening the liberal forces within that country. For example, the nations of Europe could have protected themselves against Prussian militarists by such unmistakable evidence of good will toward Germany as would have undermined the militarists' appeal to fear, thus making it possible for the anti-military party to come into power. Even as it was, with the German people desperately afraid of the military alliance between Russia and France, the anti-militarists in Germany were rapidly gaining in power, so much so that the Allies have claimed that the Kaiser chose 1914 as the time to begin the war because he was afraid he could not much longer maintain the support of his people for a huge army. That is to say, it is not necessary to wait until kaisers, czars, kings and governments are converted, the danger may be removed from within by strengthening the anti-war forces. (4) The police actually do serve as a constructive and redemptive force in society, in spite of many miscarriages of justice and occasional misuse of power. Modern war—whatever may be said about wars of previous generations—in actual operation is not constructive but so enormously destructive as to menace the existence of our civilization. It neither protects the innocent nor redeems the guilty.

A simple illustration may help to make clear a fundamental difference between police and war. Here is a

child menaced by a brute with a club. Surely as a last resort a policeman would be justified in using force to protect the child. Yes, but that would not be war. To have an illustration that would be parallel to war, it would be necessary to assume something like this: The policeman in seeking to protect the child would not only kill the big brute but would also kill his wife and children and a dozen of his friends and their children, setting the village on fire and laying waste their fields; and in addition, would start a process which would end in the killing of the child's family and a dozen friends and the destruction of their homes. To parallel war it is necessary to assume that in protecting a single child weapons would be used which would destroy a hundred lives, enemies and friends. That is exactly what war does: for every family it protects, it destroys a hundred others.

WAR AND BANDITRY

But what about a group of Mexican bandits raiding a Texas town? How should they be dealt with? In the same way that we would deal with bandits on the streets of Chicago or a crazed mob in Atlanta. The use of police power against bandits crossing our border would not be war. The resistance of a Mexican army by our own army, however, would be war. So long as Mexican bandits do not receive support from the Mexican government they ought to be dealt with by the police and not by a declaration of war and the use of a national army.

A final question needs to be considered: Why not have an international police force? This is theoretically possible. If it were possible to create an armed force, controlled by a judicial body that was really international and impartial, and which would be used against the international criminals themselves, for the purpose of restraining and redeeming them, there would be no difference in principle between this international police and national police—notice, we do not say national armies for national armies are not genuine police but are a part of the war system. It seems to the writer wholly out of the question to assemble a genuinely international police at this time. Before that can be accomplished it will be necessary to reduce to a minimum or disband altogether the various national armies and navies, and to create an effective world government with power over matters that are international in character which transcends the power of single nations. In the meantime, any armed force that went by the name "international police" would not be impartial but would be dominated by one or two large military powers. For this reason any effort on the part of the league of nations to use an armed force would probably prove fatal to its usefulness and to the peace of the world.

THREE PHASES OF WAR

What is war? It is a method of attempting to settle disputes between nations. There are three phases to war: preparedness, combat, further preparedness. In order to reach a sound ethical judgment concerning war, it is necessary to examine carefully the various

elements of which it is constituted. Preparedness for war is one of the major activities of most great nations. It is assumed that national security can only be maintained by having military power at least as strong as that of any potential enemy, or by being a member of a military alliance which is equal in strength to that of any group of possible enemies.

Military and naval preparedness necessitates a special profession of men who devote their whole time and energy to war. These men are highly trained in the science of destruction. The environment in which they live tends to magnify in their minds the importance of armed force and to decrease confidence in non-military means of maintaining security and justice. Their influence over public opinion is very great, due in part to the romance and glamour of war. This influence is increased by close contact with young men in military training camps. They also have their own special journals and other means of publicity. A secretary of war and a secretary of the navy sit in the cabinet and may exert enormous power over national policies.

The military preparedness of one nation causes increased fear, suspicion and enmity in other nations. Without the spectre of large armies and navies across the borders it would be impossible to gain public support for the enormous expenditures necessitated by a policy of preparedness. Thus preparedness in one country leads to counter preparedness, which in turn furnishes an excuse for still greater preparedness. This race of armaments made Europe an armed camp and laid the foundations for the most colossal slaughter in human history.

The second phase of war is the actual combat. What are the weapons of modern war? This generation can answer all too readily: machine guns, heavy artillery, air raids, boiling oil, poison gas, death rays, disease germs, battleships, submarines, blockades and starvation. Once war consisted of individual combats between armed men. Later it was waged between lines of men in opposing trenches. Now it is organized slaughter of whole populations.

THE NEXT WAR

If another great war comes, what will it be like? The one thing about which we can be certain is that it will be vastly more destructive than was the world war. Since the armistice, the range of guns has been doubled, the speed of tractors trebled and the destructiveness of airplane bombs increased tenfold. Machine guns are now available which fire 1,500 shots per minute. An automatic cannon has been perfected which fires one-and-one-quarter-pound shells at the rate of 120 per minute. We now have a sixteen-inch gun which hurls a missile weighing more than a ton for a distance of twenty-seven miles. A speed of 200 miles an hour for airplanes is now common, with a possibility of 250 miles an hour. In endurance tests, machines have remained in the air for thirty-six hours continuously, and non-stop flights of more than 2,000 miles have been made. Airships are now available with a cruising range

of 4,000 miles and a gross lifting power of 120,000 pounds. The significance of aviation in any war of the future was borne in upon the writer last summer when he flew from Cologne to London in three hours and crossed the English channel in exactly thirteen minutes.

The size of demolition bombs is steadily growing. During the recent war, 400 pound bombs were considered highly effective, while now 4,000 pound bombs are available. One of these bombs would be sufficient to destroy completely the Woolworth building. In the realm of poison gas, great progress is also being made. In this connection, D. B. Bradner, chief of the chemical research and development section of the United States chemical warfare service, said: "The chemical warfare service has discovered a liquid approximately three drops of which, when applied to any part of the skin, will cause a man's death. One plane carrying two tons of the liquid could cover an area 100 feet wide by seven miles long in one trip and could deposit material to kill every man in that area by action on his skin." High explosives and deadly gas are not the only contents available for huge bombs. Phosphorus and other highly inflammable substances are ready for use. If a considerable number of these incendiary bombs should be dropped upon a city it would be utterly impossible for fire departments to extinguish the innumerable fires that would be started and soon the whole city would be ablaze. Deadly disease germs are also available. A few well placed bombs filled with these germs could poison the water supply of whole areas. With comparative ease entire populations could be infected with virulent diseases. On this point, General E. D. Swinton of the British army says: "The great future weapon of war will be deadly germs. We have since the war discovered and developed germs which dropped down upon cities and armies, will slaughter a nation in a day." Progress is also being made in projecting electric rays through space with deadly effects. There is an abundance of evidence to indicate that submarines and torpedoes will be vastly more destructive of life and commerce in any future war. The blockade will again be used wherever possible if war should occur.

FINANCIAL BURDEN OF WAR

Not all of the destruction of war is wrought with such weapons as these. War breaks down the finely adjusted productive processes by means of which life is sustained in a densely populated area, and thereby causes incalculable suffering and misery. The outlook for the future is ominous because of the operation of the two-fold tendency: the increasing dependence of peoples upon each other, and the increasing dislocation of industry by war. The financial burden of war is also growing heavier and heavier. The direct cost of the world war to the belligerent nations was more than 186 billion dollars. The national debts of France, Great Britain and Italy were increased tenfold by the recent war, that of the United States more than twenty-fold. The interest upon our own national debt, most of which is due to war, for one year at four per cent is equivalent

to the total amount all the churches of the United States and Canada will contribute to foreign missions in twenty years, if the present budgets are maintained. The total debts of all the nations is now in excess of 250 billions of dollars. The German government has seen its debt wiped out by the loss of value of its currency but this simply means that the German people have already paid in full for their war expenditures of thirty-seven billion dollars and have nothing to show for it except a ruined country and a shattered continent. The financial burdens resulting from a great war of the future will bear down with even greater crushing force upon the peoples of the earth.

WAR'S WEAPONS

War not only has its own weapons, it has its own ethic, its own standard of right and wrong. During hostilities the law of military necessity reigns supreme. Normal standards of morals are set aside. Expediency and efficiency are the tests of action. Do whatever is necessary in order to win. This fact was emphasized in a recent statement by Winston S. Churchill, former first lord of the British admiralty: "When all was over, torture and cannibalism were the only two expedients that the civilized, scientific, Christian states had been able to deny themselves: and these were of doubtful utility." During wartime, no belligerent nation will admit any limitation of its supreme sovereignty. Each nation is a law unto itself. Treaties and international law are sometimes observed in war, if their observance does not stand in the way of winning. But tragic experience indicates that the most sacred obligations of nations are utterly disregarded when their observance means losing the war. Irresponsible national sovereignty and military necessity trample rough-shod over all barriers to victory.

War's ethic has little regard for truth. Deceit and falsehood are inherent in the war system. Governments deceive their own citizens as well as the enemy. A rigid censorship prevails everywhere. False reports concerning victories and defeats are constantly issued. Stories of atrocities committed by the enemy are grossly exaggerated or manufactured outright in some propaganda office. Hatred is an essential part of war. During the conflict it is regarded as treason to "love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you." In war, the enemy are regarded as targets, not as sons of God.

THE ETHIC OF WAR

The third phase of war is further preparedness. The period of hostilities releases the baser passions of men, creates more fear and hatred and leads to an even firmer determination to gain security or revenge by a preponderance of military power. This leads to a new race of armaments. One has only to trace the experience of France and Germany from the days of Napoleon to the present to see how true this is. Five years after the close of "the war to end war" there are half a million more men under arms than in 1913 and every major power is engaged in further preparedness for

war. Fear, suspicion, hatred, preparedness, war, more fear, more suspicion, more hatred, more preparedness, more war: this is the vicious circle in which the nations have been travelling.

SUMMARY

What is war? It is a method, and its use should not be justified simply because of a noble end in view. Neither should it be judged by the heroism or cowardice of those who engage in it. War is not merely the use of force; it is not the exercise of police power, national or international. War is a method of attempting to settle disputes between nations: (1) preparedness for which leads to a race of armaments, and which trains a body of professional military and naval men in the science of destruction and tends to cause them to magnify the importance of armed force and to decrease confidence in non-military means of maintaining security and

justice; (2) the conduct of which involves the use of terribly destructive weapons against guilty and innocent alike, and is based upon an ethic of its own including military necessity and irresponsible national sovereignty; (3) and which is followed by a new campaign of preparedness, thus perpetuating the vicious circle: fear, suspicion, enmity, preparedness, war, more fear, more suspicion, more enmity, more preparedness, more war.

Many important problems are now confronting us. How shall we protect helpless people from wicked men? Is the use of force justifiable? How shall we deal with bandits and mobs? What are the merits and defects of an international police force? These questions need to be answered. But the answer to them does not give us the answer to the most important social question of this generation: Is war justifiable as a method of attempting to settle disputes between nations?

The Slow Retreat of Sectarianism

By Alfred Williams Anthony

IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, sectarianism consists of two prides—"mortal" prides, some old schoolmen would call them—the pride of election and the pride of mind. Every sectarian, who is confirmed in his doctrinal position, is well satisfied that the divine favoritism is about him and that he knows exactly what the divine mind has revealed and what its purpose is. This complacency in regarding one's self and like-minded associates as the focus and central objective of the divine economy and of understanding all of the revealed truth requisite for these self-assuring conclusions constitutes the background of the beliefs and the practices which at length in nearly all religious circles are included under the opprobrious term of sectarianism. Even those who are themselves sectarian object to sectarianism in others. Sectarianism assumes that certain individuals and groups of individuals have been marked out for special grace and privileges and that the persons so designated know the fact and know all about it, that others, accordingly, cannot know the fact, entertain its assurances and enjoy the peculiar privileges involved without conceding to the propagators of these views the correctness of their position and accepting their opinions and using their phrases.

THE SECTARIAN MIND

It is natural, indeed, almost inevitable, that the possessors of such views should be, as sectarians are, dogmatic and uncompromising, for they regard themselves as advancing toward the ultimate goal in theological thinking, if not already at the goal, self-satisfied and in reality unprogressive, because they become less interested in discovering new truth than in finding new arguments for the old truth and new ways of overcoming opposition; usually zealous and self-sacrificing, because, regarding themselves as divine agents entrusted with the only way of life possible to men, they count no cost too great for the extension of their

views; and at the same time they show qualities which are lovable and praiseworthy, because of loyalty and faithfulness to convictions, although disagreeable and "impossible" to those who, with equal consciousness, do not agree with them. Mankind cannot help liking conscientiousness, loyalty in its varied forms, and the spirit of self-sacrifice. These excellences command respect wherever seen. Doubtless, in the divine mind they pass as current gold, because they measure up to the standards of "utilizing one's talents," of faithfulness "according to one's light," and in many respects to the standards of sacrificial service in a genuinely altruistic spirit. But is it likely that the Father is wholly satisfied with a sectarian, when the sectarian is frequently so disagreeable toward, and censorious of, other children in the same divine family?

It is fair to assume that the good Father forbears with the sectarian just as he forbears with others of his children who are not perfect and show grievous faults. God himself is not a sectarian. He does not control the thinking of men nor dictate their conclusions. He is even-handed and "equal" toward all. Toward those who differ from him he is gracious, good, merciful and patient. His sun, his rain, his opportunities are impartially available for all. From multiplied and manifest evidence all over the world it is plain that he has blessed with conspicuous and open favor the works of those who do not agree with the sectarians and has made them many times even the larger recipients of the Holy Spirit. It is equally plain that Jesus was not a sectarian, although he was himself the ultimate revelation, "the way, the truth and the life," and was endued with the plenitude of wisdom. He dealt gently with men; the bruised reed he did not break, the smoking flax he did not quench. He was accessible to Samaritans, Syro-Phoenicians, Romans and Greeks, as well as to Judeans and Galileans. He was hedged in by no orthodoxy

policy of selective restriction, and of Americanization, must be adopted, if we are to preserve the traditions on which our political and social life are founded and are to keep our economic life on a healthy basis. We must not, however, adopt this policy in a spirit of selfishness or of social or racial snobbery. Whatever we do must be done with consideration for our foreign citizens, and in collaboration with them. Selective restriction must be fair and indiscriminating, and must resist all attempts to single out as "inferior" or "superior" one nationality or another, not only because such a policy has little scientific justification, but because it is merely un-Christian.

And when we Americanize we must try to bring about the immigrant's willing participation in our political and social life, although such a process is a slow one, and involves a give-and-take attitude on our own part that we are loath to adopt. For we must never forget that any effort to stampede and coerce the immigrant into superficial

conformity to external standards is not only contrary to the American tradition of freedom and fair-play, but fundamentally violates that respect for personality which Christianity implies.

Finally we must remember that there are bigger issues at stake here than that of the immigration problem. I am not particularly worried about the long-run welfare of the immigrant; he is showing his ability to organize, and to take very good care of himself. But I am concerned about the moral integrity of the American people. We call ourselves a Christian nation. Then we must live up to the exalted and exacting obligations which that phrase imposes upon us. We must act as Christians in our political and social relationships; we must carry our Christianity into the solution of our national problems; otherwise our Christianity is a sham and a reproach, and our Christian life is bound to shrivel, atrophy and die. It is for our own sakes that we must behave as Christians toward the strangers within our gates.

What Shall We Do About War

Kirby Page

This is one of the most important questions that confront the youth of this generation. Youth has the most at stake. War claims as its victims the choicest young men of all the lands. Moreover, youth is less firmly bound by ancient traditions and is therefore better able to think clearly about this great problem. The present writer would like to suggest four things that we can do about war:

1. *We can study the causes of war and seek to remove them.* There is no panacea for war. There is no easy solution. The causes of war are manifold and complex. It is superficial indeed to attempt to explain wars by pointing to the crimes of a few autocrats. Modern wars are not caused by single individuals or by small groups. They are the natural outgrowth of our current manner of life. A world whose processes of production are based upon self-interest and competition should not be surprised at the periodic outbreaks of war. It is now generally admitted that economic factors are the chief causes of modern wars. The World War grew out of the competition of the nations for colonies, commodities like coal, iron, oil, and markets. If we want to

have a share in abolishing war, we simply must become intelligent concerning the economic factors that produce conflicts between the nations. Another closely related cause of war is the race of armaments between the nations. The larger the army and navy of a given country the greater the fears of the people in another country against whom these armaments may be used, and this fear leads to counter armaments; and thus we have a vicious circle of fear, armaments, more fear and greater armaments. There is no possibility of permanent peace in a world with large national armies and navies. We ought, therefore, to exert our influence to create a public opinion that will cease to depend upon armies and navies for protection and will look elsewhere for security.

2. This leads to our second point. *We can help to create and strengthen international agencies of justice.* There are two ways of settling disputes, whether between individuals, groups or nations. The dispute may be settled by combat or by reasoned agreement. History has a very clear lesson on this point. Without law and orderly processes of government, men are sure to settle their

disputes by violence. Experience has demonstrated that there are three phases of any enduring government: legislation, administration, adjudication. If we are to have a warless world, we must have government between nations, as between individuals and groups within a nation. That means that we must have international legislation, administration and adjudication. The League of Nations and the World Court are steps in the right direction. They need to be strengthened in many respects, but without international government we have no hope whatever of abolishing war.

3. *We can help to create public sentiment looking toward the outlawry of war.* At the present time, war is the legal method of settling disputes between nations. The Kaiser was quite within his rights when he declared war. He did not do anything illegal. Any government can legally declare war any time it chooses. There was a time—a very long time, in fact—when dueling was the legal method of settling disputes between individuals. There came a time, however, when the common conscience of mankind said that henceforth dueling is outlawed and will be regarded as a legal crime. The peoples of the earth must take similar action with regard to war. We must rewrite international law on the basis that war is a crime, rather than to follow the present international practise of regarding war as the legal way to settle disputes.

4. *We can renounce war as sin and refuse ever again to have any part in it.* If by sin we mean an attitude or practise which is a fundamental violation of Jesus' way of life, there is no room for doubt that modern war is sin. Consider for a moment the weapons of war: poison gas, boiling oil, long range artillery, machine guns, air raids over defenseless cities, submarines, blockades which starve men, women and children alike. These are the weapons of modern war.

Consider Jesus' way of life: the consciousness of the common Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of all men without regard to color, or speech, or condition; the inestimable value of every human being; the supremacy of love—the duty of love even toward the people who seek to do us harm—the duty of service, the law of forgiveness, the obligation to live sacrificially. These are the heart of Jesus' message. There are no two things in

the modern world further removed from each other than war and Jesus' way of life. Let us therefore, as individuals and as groups, put loyalty to him above all other loyalties. Let us turn away from the futile and suicidal method of war and have the courage and faith to believe that, in a wicked world, you can overcome evil-doers by doing good, and that spiritual forces are mightier than physical forces.

These, then, are some of the things we can do about war. We can study its causes and seek to remove them. We can help create and strengthen international agencies of justice. We can help to outlaw war legally as a crime. We can turn away from war as sin, refusing any longer to resist evil with evil, putting confidence where Jesus put his—in love, good will, service and sacrifice.

* * *

SOUND MERCHANDISE

Ellsworth C. Reamon

One of the most valuable agencies for the increasing of our membership is our so-called Devotional Meeting. It is because we have come to realize that better devotional meetings make better members that we are making a concerted effort to improve upon this phase of our work. The Superintendent of our Devotional Department is putting careful thought and untold effort into this movement, which is related vitally to our Membership Campaign. Let me call your attention to an established fact—the Devotional Meeting may be, and in some cases is, the most far-reaching advertising medium at our disposal.

Consider, if you will, an individual case—but one of several which have come to my attention. The leader came late and was absolutely unprepared. Uncalled-for explanations were made, a hurried selection of hymns and Scripture added to the confusion. The whole meeting was devoid of seriousness and entirely lacking in reverence—it was a farce, yet no one laughed. As an advertisement, that meeting did more harm than the leader would ever suspect. The visitors present were bored (who would have the courage to invite them again?), "wavering," doubtful members lost whatever of interest they had had, and the loyalty of the most faithful members was shaken. So much for the negative effect!

(Continued on page 10)

EDITORIAL

Rediscovered!

The other day one whose opinion I value very highly wrote me: "I've just read the last *Onward*, and, as I often do, I regret that I never belonged to the Y. P. C. U. The principles for which it works and stands seem splendid to me."

Those sentences startled me. My dream of what the Union might be, my hope for its future, have so occupied my thought that I have forgotten what it is and how much I owe it. In the constant endeavor to make it better I have focused my attention upon its faults and ignored its many virtues. I have been in danger of not seeing the woods for the trees.

I have no intention of stopping my criticisms. The Union is still so far from what it might be that I should be disloyal to my hopes for it if I for one moment ceased to point out its defects. To rest content with things as they are would be a cowardly compromise with my ideals.

But my eyes are again opened to all those sources of strength which make criticism worth while and hope tenable. I can look about me and see the numberless young men and young women who are being helped by this organization, who are learning in it the lesson of leadership. I can see the long record of service to the Church. I can recognize the essential soundness of the principles on which the Y. P. C. U. is based.

This has been a fortunate experience. Now of all times I am thankful for a return of something of my earlier enthusiasm. We are in the midst of a campaign for more and better members, a campaign that is being carried on without red fire and cheering sections but with quiet determination and consecration.

Such a campaign is far more difficult than the sort of slambang affair that might be rushed through in a week or so. To get the good results we want we must keep plugging week after week, making gains slowly and holding those gains as we make them.

It is a man-size job we have tackled. Without a director to help and guide us we are faced with the supreme test of the worth

of our organization. We need faith in ourselves and in the value of the message we are bringing to other young people. It is such a faith which I have found anew.

Nearly two years ago an active member of the Union wrote me: "During the past year we have been tearing, tearing, tearing. Now let us show the Union that we are as good at supporting as at criticising." I did try to support and I have tried to support, but I did not stop and have not stopped criticising. I do not intend to stop now nor ever so long as I am connected with the Y. P. C. U. I do intend, lest I again forget, to assert here and now my faith in the Union and its principles.

G. H.

Easter?

Easter—what does it mean? Perhaps there are as many answers to that as there are people who read this article.

To some children it means the time when they look for bright colored eggs. To certain religious groups it means a period of right living and following certain rigid customs. Some people pay no attention to it at all.

However, to most people there is some meaning attached to the word and the season.

If we were Orthodox we would spend a great deal of time considering the death and resurrection of Christ. But belonging to a group that has been classified as modernists, that story does not mean so much to us.

At this time of the year things of nature

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the legacy of devotional writings which will stimulate Christian faith long after most of our graves can not be found for brambles. Yet, in spite of all this, a little whippersnapper of a preacher said to me in a thin voice the other day, "It's too bad Doctor Jowett didn't have the social vision." Lord, help us to get right!

He wrote the choicest English an American president ever put into papers of state, and in derision they called him a schoolmaster. He looked across eight million graves of strong men slain in battle and proposed a preventive, and his political foes, like Joseph's brethren, cried, "Behold this dreamer!" He ventured far ahead where he came upon the great loneliness and the crushing labors which broke his body, and those who could not understand him pronounced it nothing but an exhibition of stubborn partisanship and vaunting ambition. He turned to the playhouses, as did Lincoln to his joke books, in search of laughter and diversion and entertainment, and his defamers whispered that he was coarse.

Well, they are burying Woodrow Wilson as I write these lines. Already "death closeth the door to envy and is a passport to good fame." These things I read about on the front page of this morning's paper: "His favorite hymns; a well-worn New Testament bound in pig skin, the gift of a soldier, there on a stand beside the ex-President's vacant bed; his chair in the dining-room against which before being seated he leaned his broken body and mumbled the usual blessing; a book of private devotions in the pages of which he sought to forget his sufferings."

Newspaper men are smart. They know how much hidden interest people have, after all, in a man's religious life.

I dropped in on several sessions of the Council of Cities held in the Smithfield Street church during the last week in February. Of course, there were present a few professional delegates who are always ready to go skylarking off to any kind of meeting so long as the Church foots the bill, and there were a few windjammers whom program builders still consider essential to successful conventions, just as P. T. Barnum considered spotted ponies necessary for a circus. But the former went to the "movies" and the latter soon pronounced their ways through their effusions, and the large balance, who made up as brave and sacrificial a group as ever I saw together, stood by and made good. Some labor in fields as barren as Corinth, and as hostile as Ephesus, and among people as inconstant as the Galatians and with as little equipment as Paul had a Philippi, which was a shade tree and a river bank. Often they have to deal with local church boards dominated by narrow-minded officials. Usually they are up against empty treasuries, and daily they face the prejudices and indifferences and vices which have their habitations in the squalid sections of cities.

Church conventions have improved. Once they closed with some going-down-from-this-mount-of-inspiration speeches and with a consecration service marked by aching knees and snapping joints. This convention closed by dealing a swift uppercut to the jaw of Mars, and with a speech by Bishop McConnell which will be remembered for many a day. A peace resolution was adopted memorializing the General Conference to declare that as a Church "we can take no part in any movement toward war." It consisted of a few good phrases grabbed from Doctor Fosdick's Introduction to Kirby Page's latest book, but strung together by bunglers. What was not clear to the delegates of the Council of Cities one can not expect nincompoops to understand, and some of these are bound to be at Springfield. Anything for their consideration should be written in every-day words of one syllable so that even he who runs for the episcopacy may read. Even then they will move as usual with the speed of a lame snail.

The clamor for "a resolution with teeth in it" signified that by the time the war lords start another massacre it will be necessary for the War Department to place some one who is a bear for work in charge of firing squads to shoot the conscientious objectors. The delegates seemed to forget that the peace movement is only an infant. Nevertheless they wanted it to have teeth, so they clapped in a "we-can-take-no-part-in-any-movement-toward-war" set, both uppers and lowers, in order that the babe could bite the militarists. Of course the action was premature, but evidenced an impatience which is inspiring. It is one thing to vote for teeth amid the peaceful surroundings of Smithfield Street church, but quite another to keep a good circulation below the ankles on a day when the bugles are blowing and the troops are moving and some pin-head from the War Department, backed by all the guns of the nation, rings the doorbell and hustles a preacher away from his unfinished sermon and his hysterical wife and crying children to face a firing squad or a cold cell in a federal prison, all because he has lived as he once voted.

That vote of the Council of Cities showed the need of increasing the Permanent Annuity Fund, for somebody is going to get shot sure and the dependents must be cared for. Even if the Government has set aside a sum for defraying the funeral expenses of conscientious objectors, it would be foolish to count on it, for as like as not the officeholders at Washington have bought oil stocks with it.

Of course, after the sound and the foam of the May fashet at Springfield have receded, the resolutions will doubtless be found grounded on a mud bank along with a good-sized fleet of personal ambitions and other craft possessed of too much steam and too faulty rudders. But no one who witnessed the adoption of the resolution by the Council of Cities can doubt that there is abroad a growing spirit against war which, even though it blunders, will persist until it "muddles through" to victory.

How Did Europe Get That Way?

Kirby Page

RETURNING travelers from Europe bring conflicting reports concerning conditions there. Some of them bring reports of prosperity, profiteering and luxurious living. Others bring exactly the opposite report, and go so far as to say that the very foundations of European civilization are crumbling.

There is a basis of fact for both points of view. It is unquestionably true that in all of the countries some rich profiteers are living riotously. It is also a fact that multitudes of people in all of the countries are living in extreme poverty, and millions more are on the verge of want.

Mr. Herbert Hoover is authority for the statement that in Germany alone twenty million people are in dire need. Millions more in Russia, Poland, Austria and other countries are in desperate straits. England has a million and a half workers living on unemployment doles, which means that from five to six million people are subjects of charity, because they are unable to get work with which to maintain themselves. The middle classes in all of these nations are slowly perishing. Most of the governments of Europe are bankrupt; that is, their budgets are not balanced and their receipts do not equal their expenditures.

The health of Europe has not been so bad since the Thirty Years' War. With forty millions dead as a direct result of the war and many millions living in a state of undernourishment, and with the rapid spread of tuberculosis and other deadly diseases, there is reason for alarm concerning the health of Europe. Everywhere there is political chaos. Very few governments are stable. Democracy is at a low ebb, with five or six dictators in control in various countries. Moral conditions are indescribably bad. In many of the cities, there are public exhibitions of nudity and obscenity that remind one of the tales of ancient Corinth. Spiritually the Continent is at a very low ebb. The Churches have lost power to such an extent that they now exercise only a negligible influence on public affairs.

A recent writer has summarized the state of affairs which prevails in Europe in the following vivid words: "Never, I think, has the spiritual tone of Christendom been at such a low level. Sex irregularity, commercial dishonesty, crass materialism are rampant. The communal esprit de corps has disappeared. Political indifference among the masses and corruption among the starving, underpaid officials are prevalent from sea to sea. There is faith in nothing, neither in God nor in man, neither in religion nor in science, neither in art nor in nature, neither in the established order nor in revolution. The moorings of civilization are severed, the bonds of society are in a state of dissolution. Economically and politically Europe is receding to the disintegration of the Middle Ages. Morally and spiritually it is retreating to the edge of the jungle. Each for himself and the devil take the lot of us is the universal philosophy. Eat and drink what you can get to-day, be merry at all costs, for to-morrow, as sure as death, there comes another war. So Rome must have looked about the year 500 A. D."

Whether this writer has exaggerated or not, the situation is so critical that we are under obligation to find the answer to two important questions: How did Europe get that way? What can the United States do about the problems of Europe? The situation which exists in Europe is so complex that it is not easy to give an answer to this first question. There are, however, five forces which have combined to produce the present chaotic condition in Europe.

Materialism in Full Flower

1. The first of these forces can be described by the word **materialism**. During the past half century, that continent has become increasingly materialistic. As Mr. Tawney says, it is an "acquisitive society"—a possessive society. Ever since the industrial revolution, its foundations have rested upon the doctrine of self-interest and free competition. There has been a lessening interest in art, music and spiritual values, with an increasing emphasis upon things. The struggle for possessions is divisive and inevitably leads to conflict.

2. The second of these forces is **nationalism**. Europe

has been divided into twenty or thirty artificial units known as nations. That these units are artificial is indicated by the fact that in practically all of them two or three different languages are spoken, with two or three religions represented, and with two or three stages of culture, so that various groups within a nation have much more in common with some groups in other nations than with other groups within their own nation. These artificial units known as nations have claimed absolute sovereignty, each refusing to acknowledge any law higher than its own wishes. Thus has been produced a state of anarchy between nations. Anarchy has always led to chaos and violence. This was true during that period when individuals lived in a state of anarchy with regard to each other. It was also true of that period when there was no law between cities, and also when states lived in a state of anarchy with regard to each other. This division of the people of Europe into artificial units called nations, with the emphasis upon the absolute sovereignty of state, has been one of the most important factors in creating the present state of affairs.

The Grabbing Fist

3. The third of these forces is **imperialism**. Success can not be achieved in an acquisitive society without access to the raw materials and markets of other lands. Consequently there has been a mad scramble on the part of European nations for control of the backward nations of the earth. Coal, iron, oil and other raw materials, concessions, spheres of influence, trade routes, control of markets—these have been the cause of innumerable conflicts between the nations of Europe. So successful have these nations been in their struggle for the control of backward nations that practically the whole of Africa and great sections of Asia and the islands of the sea have been divided among them. By the year 1912, the whole of Africa except a small area of 393,000 square miles had passed under the control of the nations of Europe. The share of each of the nations in these spoils of Africa was as follows:

France	4,086,950
Great Britain	3,701,411
Germany	910,150
Belgium	900,000
Portugal	787,500
Italy	600,000
Spain	79,800

4. The fourth of these factors is **militarism**. The nations of Europe were not only seeking their own gain and attempting to dominate various parts of the earth, they were prepared to use violence in achieving their goal. Consequently, there was a race of armaments, each decade seeing these armaments pile higher and higher. During the forty-one years preceding the outbreak of the war, the nations of Europe spent more than \$40,000,000,000 gold upon their military and naval establishments. According to figures issued by the Bankers Trust company of New York City, the total amounts spent for armaments by each of the larger European nations from 1873 to 1913 were as follows:

France	\$8,568,000,000
Great Britain	8,401,000,000
Russia	7,581,000,000
Germany	7,434,000,000
Italy	3,010,000,000
Austria-Hungary	2,774,000,000

During the fourteen years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war, the rank of the four major powers in total expenditures in pounds sterling for armaments was as follows:

(Continued on Page 28.)

HOW DID EUROPE GET THAT WAY?

(Continued from Page 13.)

1. Great Britain889,000,000
2. Russia810,000,000
3. Germany765,000,000
4. France660,000,000

Not only were all of the nations armed to the teeth, there were military alliances so that Europe was in reality divided into two great armed camps—the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. During the fourteen years immediately preceding the war, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy spent 1,383,000,000 pounds sterling upon armaments, while Russia, France and Great Britain spent 2,360,000,000 pounds sterling. Since Italy actually fought on the side of the Triple Entente, we get the following: Total of Germany and Austria, 1,094,000,000; total of Russia, France, Great Britain and Italy, 2,648,000,000.

The Specter of Fear

5. The fifth of these factors was fear. The peoples of Europe were desperately afraid of each other. They could not forget history. They remembered that forty important wars had been waged within a century. They remembered the repeated invasion of their territory within the last two centuries. Moreover, the various peoples had been taught from infancy to fear and to hate the peoples of other nations. Out of this deep-rooted fear came suspicion, hatred, violence and war. It was on a basis of fear that the various governments secured continued support for the enormous burden of armaments. Not only did fear operate in all of these countries prior to the war, it is the foundation of the Treaty of Versailles. Almost every clause in that treaty is based upon fear of Germany. Because of their fear of Germany in the future and their lack of faith that the German people could be converted, there was a determined effort to destroy the military, political and economic power of Germany. This could be accomplished only by maintaining a strong armed force in France and has, therefore, tended to perpetuate militarism and has not removed fear in France or in Central Europe.

These five forces have been operating in Europe for many decades. It is only within recent years that their destructive nature has been fully recognized. There are two factors which have enormously increased their deadliness within the last few decades. The first of these is that the various parts of Europe have become more and more dependent upon each other. Europe is now a neighborhood, and no part of it can suffer without affecting all other parts. Henceforth, Europe is going to live or die as a unit. The second of these factors is the increasing deadliness of the instruments of war. There was a time when two nations could go to war without destroying each other or threatening the whole fabric of civilization. That day has gone. War is now so destructive and involves whole populations to such an extent that if it is waged again on a large scale, it will certainly destroy European civilization.

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The peoples of Europe, and indeed the peoples of the whole earth, are thus placed under the imperative necessity of solving these five problems—materialism, nationalism, imperialism, militarism and fear—if they are to avoid universal destruction in suicidal combat.

It was an impressive utterance. The people hung on his words. He seemed the teacher of a new age. What the teacher had said, people were discussing as they walked up the avenue.

As one of the former trustees of All Souls said to-night: "Pierce was at his best. He sends light into the dark places. He makes us understand."

This teacher, preacher, leader, Ulysses Grant Baker Pierce, has been minister of All Souls Church for twenty-three years. He is a Providence, R. I., man, fifty-eight years old, and since graduation from college at Hillsdale, Mich., has earned his B. D. at Harvard and his Ph. D. degree at George Washington University. Before coming to Washington he had a three-year pastorate at Pomona, Cal., and a four-year pastorate at Ithaca, N. Y.

When Edward Everett Hale died, he was serving as chaplain of the United States Senate. Dr. Pierce was elected to succeed him and held the position for four years.

As a rule, however, Dr. Pierce has not accepted positions which might interfere with his work as the head of a great city church. And as the head of a church he has not allowed various ramifications of the work to interfere with his opportunity as a preacher. When he came to Washington the Board of that day said to him: "Put first things first. Don't let us ride you to death. Your big task is to cheer and inspire us on Sunday. Don't let us wear you out during the week so that you can't do your real work in the Sunday service."

And so, though Dr. Pierce has gone here and there, made many calls, attended many funerals and weddings, preached to many schools, he has saved time for study and meditation.

Among the by-products of his study are the two interesting little volumes, "The Soul of the Bible" and

"The Creed of Epictetus." The former is used extensively in our own denomination for scripture readings in the Sunday service. It is just what the title claims. He publishes the parts of the Bible where the literature reaches its greatest heights, with chronology set aside just enough to bring together utterances on a single subject so that each reading drives home one great thought.

The book on Epictetus, in much the same way, gives us the substance of the writings of the philosopher, making many of us realize for the first time how great Epictetus really was.

Both books show the scholarship, the culture, the careful workmanship of a man who can't or won't do anything in a slipshod or careless way. "He subsoils," said Dr. Edward Everett Hale to me once in his deepest voice.

And I who have lived beside him for twenty-two years or more have come to see how human this scholar and preacher is, how delicious his sense of humor, how he laughs away the hard things which fall to his lot as to the lot of every pastor, and how persistently, courageously, efficiently, he goes on with a day's work and a year's work which steadily is becoming the work of a lifetime.

All Souls Church has the prestige given to it in Washington by faithful laymen like John Quincy Adams, John C. Calhoun, Millard Fillmore, Wm. Howard Taft, Daniel Webster, John D. Long, John W. Weeks, Charles Sumner, George F. Hoar, Justice Story and a host of others—Senators, Judges, Congressmen—who have been builders of the nation.

No finer single group of people can be found in Washington than the large group who are supporting All Souls and Dr. Pierce.

With a new church, in a commanding position, the outlook for its future usefulness is bright.

Man! They Are Already Sprouting!

Kirby Page

SAID one newspaper reporter to another at the Student Volunteer Convention in Indianapolis, "Would I be justified in saying that in this Convention the seeds of an American youth movement are being sown?" Said the second reporter to the first, "Man! they are already sprouting!"

No better interpretation could be given of the significance of this great gathering, composed of some six thousand students from practically all of the colleges in the United States and Canada, together with representatives from many foreign lands.

There is general agreement that this was in many ways the most significant student gathering ever held in this country. There are two aspects that stand out above all others: first, the unusual degree of democracy, and actual participation by students, and second, the seriousness with which they faced the implications of the Christian Gospel in economic life, race relations and international affairs.

A student presided at the opening session and made the first address. Three sessions of the Convention were turned over entirely to the students. On two occasions, they were divided into forty-nine dis-

cussion groups where they selected their own topics for consideration and discussed them in the way that seemed best to them. It is illuminating to know that the two subjects which were selected by the most groups were race relations and war. About forty of the forty-nine groups discussed these problems at one or both of the two sessions. On the closing day of the Convention, eight students were selected by their fellows to speak before the Convention. Four of these students spoke upon race relations and four upon war. A Southern white student presented the typical point of view held by his group. A Northern white student did likewise. A negro student spoke for his race, while the Orientals were represented by a student from the Philippine Islands. Four attitudes toward war were presented by four students. An opportunity was afforded for a vote upon the question of war, with the following results:

One hundred and fifty in favor of the first position, which was: We believe that preparation for the emergency of war is the best way to avoid war; therefore we urge our nation to prepare that any future war

shall be brought to a speedy and righteous termination.

Four thousand in favor of the second position, which was: We believe that war is un-Christian and should be abolished through a process of education, but that non-resistance is now impracticable, and that occasion may arise wherein it is our duty to engage in war after all means of prevention have failed.

Five thousand in favor of the third position, which was: We believe that war is un-Christian and that the League of Nations is the best means of preventing it, but we should resort to war in case an unavoidable dispute had been referred to the League or World Court without successful settlement.

Seven hundred in favor of the fourth position, namely: We believe that henceforth war is an utter denial of Jesus' way of life, ineffective as a means of

settling differences between nations. Therefore, we declare our resolve not to sanction or participate directly in any future war.

There were many great addresses given, those by Sherwood Eddy, Studdert Kennedy and Dr. Mott being the most notable. A significant phase of the program was the series of addresses by representatives from China, Japan, India, Mexico and other foreign lands.

But after all has been said, the two things that really set this convention apart from its predecessors were the degree of democratic participation by the students and the vigorous emphasis laid upon the social implications of our Gospel. Only this morning Dr. Mott said to the writer: "We have a generation of students now whom we can trust. All they need is guidance."

Some Fundamentals

Vincent E. Tomlinson

"The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner." Mark 10 : 10.

THE fundamentalists of Jesus' time did not know a corner-stone when they saw it. They had a lot of doctrines which they called "orthodox," which they insisted people should believe, but him, the true leader of his time, they rejected. "We know that God spake unto Moses, but as for this fellow we know not whence he is." I sometimes wonder if history is not always repeating itself in this respect, if the vociferous defenders of the faith, the champions of what is sound, are not always a lap behind. Their very conservatism and cocksureness use up so much of their energy they haven't any left to keep abreast of the times and discover new truth, or even old truths in new lights.

From the day of the Scribes and the Pharisees until the present, if one were to make a list of the noisiest defenders of truth in whatever department of human endeavor, we would find them to be, almost without exception, brakes on the wheel of progress—earnest men and women often, thinking as the enemies of Jesus did they were doing God service, but with more zeal than wisdom.

The papers are full of what the fundamentalists tell us we ought to believe in matters of religion. If we do not accept it we are "unsettling faith," "we are traitors to the Church," "we have denied Christ," and a great many more dangerous and discreditable things. What they do not see is that one can disagree with them and still be honest, indeed, that perhaps he has a sounder reason than they for his opinions.

Now what are some of the things so very important which the fundamentalists insist upon, the bedrock things in religion as they esteem them? One is the virgin birth. They can not see how Jesus was divine or his religion clothed with supernatural authority unless he was born in a different way from the rest of us. Because he had a human mother and the Holy Ghost for his father he is endowed with special powers not found in other men, and his religion has a sanction it would not otherwise have.

While this theory has had many adherents, to

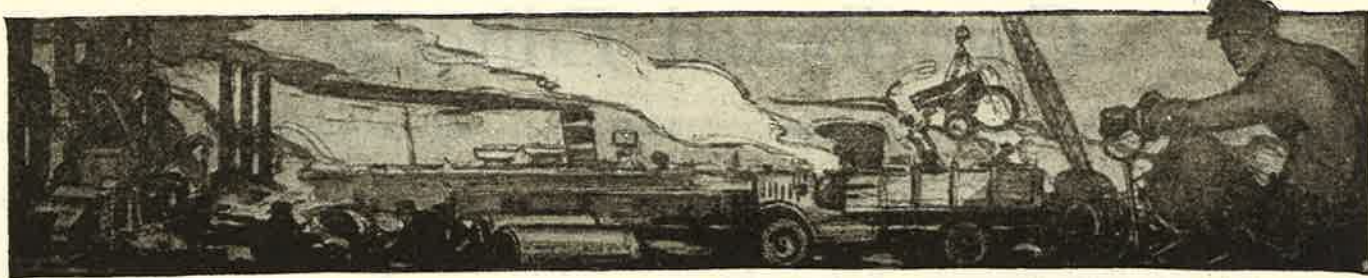
others with modern minds it means very little. They are not so much interested in how Jesus came into the world as in the fact that he is here. His truth is its own authority to them, and it is not helped any by claiming for it some special supernatural sanction. Indeed if the full story were told they feel that this external authority with which some endeavor to buttress the Christian religion weakens, rather than strengthens, it. In putting it in a class by itself they take it out of the wider field of human interests. In their endeavor to honor Jesus they render him ineffective. If the Master were not tempted as we are, if he did not really suffer, how can we gain strength or courage from his example? How can we feel ourselves in vital touch with him?

I confess to you, after giving the matter a great deal of serious thought, I can not see how putting the birth of Jesus in a different class from that of God's other children adds any honor or potency to it. I believe such a doctrine grew out of a false conception of human nature. And in seeking through a virgin birth to exalt Jesus disrepute is thrown upon that natural process which is no less divine, whereby we all have taken our place in this world.

More and more as people enter into the spirit of Jesus' life and are moulded by it do I believe they will esteem it a matter of indifference how that life came into being. We do not think any more or any less of Abraham Lincoln because he was born in Kentucky of poor parents. We honor him because of the mighty service which he rendered his country, because of the inspired words which he uttered at Gettysburg and in the Second Inaugural. So with one of our own poets would we say of Jesus,

"If Jesus Christ is a man,
And only a man—I say
That of all mankind I cleave to him
And to him I will cleave alway.
If Jesus Christ is a God—
And the only God—I swear
I will follow him through heaven and hell,
The earth, the sea and the air."

Another of the fundamentalists' favorite doctrines



What Can the Church Do About Industrial Strife?

A Labor Day Message on Creating a New Atmosphere in Industry

By Kirby Page

THAT we are living in an age of strife is evident to all. Strikes, lockouts, and overt acts of violence are evidence of the volcanic fires of hostility beneath the surface of modern industrial relations. There are many indications that the situation is growing worse rather than better. The United States is becoming more and more industrialized each decade. The experience of Europe seems to indicate that the process of industrialization is accompanied by an intensification of class-consciousness and an increase of bitterness between the contending factors. Certainly there is more class-consciousness among business men in this country now than there was twenty years ago. This same tendency is likewise visible among the workers. If the present forces in industry are left unchecked, it seems inevitable that class-consciousness and hostility will increase during the coming decades. Moreover, the struggle for life is likely to become more intense.

There is another factor, the significance of which is usually overlooked, namely, the deliberate creation of new desires by modern advertising. Enormous sums of money are being spent in the endeavor to make people want more things. All the lessons learned from psychology and salesmanship are being used in this campaign to intensify desires. The result is that the rank and file of people are now insisting upon the possession of luxuries which were beyond the dreams of kings a few generations ago. A vast proportion of human energy is being devoted to the pursuit of things. Our modern world has accurately been described as an acquisitive society. Now the struggle for possessions is divisive and leads to conflict.

The spread of popular education and the rise of democratic ideas have forever destroyed that state of society in which the masses were content to live in poverty while their "betters" lived on the fat of the land. Popular unrest and discontent are sure to increase so long as the masses are denied the privileges and luxuries which are flaunted in their faces by the rich.

There is still another factor that must be reckoned with, and that is the enormous concentration of power in the hands of the leaders of big business in America. In no other country is great wealth so firmly entrenched and so powerfully safeguarded as in the United States. The financial and manufacturing interests are attempting to prevent the organization of labor, and are doing their utmost to restrict social legislation, such as the child

labor amendment, minimum wage laws, etc. Such activity is causing deep resentment in the ranks of the workers.

Causes of Industrial Strife

Let us now bring together these various factors: the increasing industrialization of the modern world, the intensification of class-consciousness, an increasing population, a decreasing supply of raw materials, a more intense foreign competition, the creation of new wants by advertising, the spread of popular education and the rise of democratic ideas, the concentration of enormous power in the hands of the rich, accompanied by their determination to maintain their power and to increase their possessions. These are some of the elements which have combined to produce an alarming amount of strife in industrial relations.

What has the church to do with industrial problems? The answer is the obvious one that the church is concerned with every phase of our modern world which affects human welfare and human relations. Abundant life for every person and brotherly relations among all the children of God are its major objectives. The church has three great stakes in industry: an adequate supply of goods and services as the physical basis of the good life for all; the production of these goods with the least human cost in terms of arduous labor, long hours, monotony, fatigue, accidents, and sickness; production with the minimum of friction and broken human relations.

What can the church do about industrial problems? I have no panacea, nor do I believe that one exists. The situation is far too complex to be solved by specific remedies. Manifold solutions are demanded. The supreme requirement—indeed, a prerequisite to any solution—is *the creation of a new atmosphere*. So long as fear, bitterness, and hostility are the outstanding characteristics of all parties to the industrial conflict, peaceful and permanent solutions are impossible. At this point the church has an unbounded opportunity and an enormous responsibility.

The Challenge to Christians to Live More Simply

While the church has a many-sided contribution to make toward the solution of economic questions, I shall confine my remarks in this article to a single item in its message, namely, *the challenge to Christian people to*

live more simply. I am well aware of the fact that large numbers of Christians are now living in the utmost simplicity, if not in actual want or dire poverty. On the other hand, many members of the church have been abundantly blessed with this world's goods and are living in great luxury. A considerable proportion of the membership of the churches is drawn from the upper middle class and from the ranks of wealth. The financial, commercial, and manufacturing interests are well represented in church circles and are often dominant. Therefore, there is urgent need that the message of the simple life be proclaimed from pulpit and classroom.

The first difficulty which confronts us is that of definition. What is a necessity? What is reasonable comfort? What is luxury? Rigid answers to these questions are wholly unsatisfactory. Sharp and fixed lines cannot be drawn, but this fact does not excuse us from the obligation to face the issue here involved. Various governmental and social agencies have prepared estimates showing the amount of money required to enable a family of five to live in reasonable comfort. The figures vary from \$1,500 to \$2,500 per year. If these estimates are at all correct, it is probably true to say that an annual budget of \$5,000 for a family of five would provide a sufficient quantity of necessities and comforts to insure physical health, mental and spiritual development, and at least a few luxuries. Therefore, family and household expenditures in excess of \$5,000 may legitimately be classified as luxury consumption. It is undoubtedly a fact that unmarried men and women with incomes above \$2,000 are able to enjoy a few luxuries, as are also families with an income above \$3,000, in which there are no children.

The main message of the gospel concerning standards of living is clear: Christians are not justified in thinking primarily of their own comfort or pleasure, but are under obligation to seek first the kingdom of God, and therefore to spend their time, energy, and money in the way that will best serve the interests of the family of God. Before a Christian decides how much money he shall spend upon himself and his family, he should consider carefully just what are the consequences of luxury production and consumption, and should constantly remind himself of the vast volume of human suffering and misery which remains unrelieved because of lack of funds. I should like to suggest four reasons why Christians should avoid luxurious living.

Four Reasons for Avoiding Luxury

1. *Money that is now spent upon luxuries could be used to minister to the physical, mental, and spiritual needs of the less fortunate.* In all parts of the world there are vast multitudes of people who are hungry and in dire physical need. I shall never forget my emotions one day on the dock in Shanghai when I saw two Chinese women holding their nets over a porthole of our ship in order to catch the garbage as it was dumped out, and was told that multitudes of the poor gladly ate garbage and refuse. All over the Orient, throughout vast areas in Europe, and in the slums of our own cities are millions of human beings who never get enough to eat. Millions of sick and diseased folks lack proper nourishment and medical care.

2. *The production and consumption of luxuries increase the cost of necessities and thereby make more intense the struggle of the poor.* This is true because luxury production diverts raw materials, capital, and human

labor from the production of necessities. One of the major reasons, although by no means the only one, why prices are so high in America is because of the enormous quantities of luxuries produced. During the war it was easy to see the effects upon prices of diverting materials, money, and labor into the manufacture of munitions and war supplies. There is just enough truth in the statement that luxuries "make work," and therefore increase prosperity to blind people to the real social effects of their consumption. Society could "make work" in a thousand ways that would not contribute to social well-being. It would be easy to "make work" by breaking the glass in all doors and windows, or by burning down houses. Many types of luxury production have no social values whatever, and yet so long as they can be produced at a profit, materials, capital, and labor will be wasted and the cost of necessities increased.

3. *Luxurious living on the part of employers is a major cause of bitterness and hostility on the part of the workers.* To thousands of workers it seems unjust that they should be compelled to spend long hours of arduous toil for a wage barely sufficient to enable them to support their families in decency, while their employers make enough profit from their labor to provide numerous luxuries for their families. Even the more highly paid workers are made discontented and resentful by the luxury of their employers. Gross disparity in standards of living, if continued, will lead to increased friction and will defeat all attempts to make brotherhood a reality in industry.

4. *Luxurious living tends to increase selfish materialism and to reduce spiritual power.* The New Testament is filled with warnings against the temptations of wealth: "Take heed, and keep yourselves from all covetousness: for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of things possessed. . . . For what doth it profit a man to gain the whole world and forfeit his life? . . . Ye cannot serve God and mammon. . . ."

I am not suggesting poverty as a way out of our present difficulties. Enforced poverty is the very thing we are seeking to abolish. Poverty and extreme luxury are both dangerous to social welfare. The ideal for society is somewhere between the two extremes. If persons in the upper middle class and in the ranks of wealth would deliberately avoid luxurious living and be content with a standard of life not too disproportionate to that which is available for the rank and file of workers, they would take a long step toward removing bitterness, and would aid enormously in creating an atmosphere in which adequate solutions might be found. What would be the effects upon industrial relations if employers would limit the amount spent upon their own households, to say \$5,000 per year, or perhaps even far less, until such time as every industrious worker could be assured an annual income of say \$2,500? Would it be an undue hardship for business and professional men to limit their household expenses to \$5,000? If so, what shall we say of the half of all heads of families in the United States whose annual income is less than \$1,500? Or what about the vast proportion of ministers, teachers, social workers, and missionaries who receive far less than \$5,000 a year?

I have not attempted to offer a panacea which will solve all industrial ills. But surely here is an intensely practical measure which all of us can advocate and practice, and which if brought to pass would remove countless barriers and help clear the highway to industrial peace.



DARTMOUTH COLLEGE SENIORS

Mr. Page finds that an increasing number of wide-awake students are becoming intensely interested in the social problems of the day and are facing the question of life work with great seriousness

What's on the Student's Mind?

By Kirby Page

WHAT are students thinking about? Are they taking their studies seriously, or are they devoting themselves primarily to extra curriculum activities? Are they manifesting any intelligent interest in current world problems, or are they predominantly concerned with athletics and dancing?

A unique opportunity to observe the working of the student mind is afforded at the various student conferences conducted by the student departments of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. During the past few weeks the writer has been privileged to attend such conferences in the Eastern, Southern, Southwestern, and Rocky Mountain regions. It should be recognized that the personnel of these conferences is not really typical of the student body of the country, but represents the group most interested in religious and moral problems; that is to say, the delegates at these conferences have undergone a highly selective process. On the whole, they are a very alert lot and probably understand the real situation on the various campuses as well as any group that could easily be assembled. After attending a number of these conferences and after speaking in many colleges throughout the country, the writer should like to express certain opinions concerning the existing situation in the colleges. It should, of course, be recognized that generalizations are dangerous, and that conditions vary considerably from college to college.

1. The rank and file of students throughout the country are not taking life very seriously. Most of them are much more concerned with campus activities than with the curriculum. College athletics are becoming increasingly commercialized and are dominated by the competitive spirit. The craze for dancing is widespread,

and vast numbers of students spend a disproportionate amount of energy and money in this way. A considerable number of students throughout the country are living luxuriously and are wasting large sums of dad's money. Many of them seem to have little idea as to why they are in college, and devote themselves chiefly to the task of having a good time. Our system of examinations makes it possible for a student by periodic cramming and gorging himself with textbook information to graduate from college with pitifully little real education. Only a relatively small percentage of students are making a serious effort to understand the nature of our modern world, or doing any really creative thinking. There is much ground for the charge frequently made by visitors from abroad that American students are spoon-fed, and are the most docile-minded students in the world. An open forum on almost any campus in the country will reveal the crassest ignorance and most violent prejudices on the part of even the more select group which attends such a gathering. Most college students have only the faintest idea as to what is wrong with our civilization. As a rule, they reflect the unthinking optimism of the homes from which they come.

Serious Moral Conditions

2. Moral conditions on many campuses are very serious, if not alarming. Cheating in examinations is very prevalent throughout the country. In many colleges the honor system has broken down completely. Excessive indulgence in card playing prevails upon many campuses, and gambling is not uncommon. On many campuses there is a good deal of drinking and some drunkenness. The relations between men and women frequently

furnish grounds for genuine concern. Petting and fussing of an extreme sort are exceedingly widespread. Promiscuous kissing, fondling, and embracing are frequently taken for granted. One sorority girl told the writer that on her campus the sororities insisted that their members allow their escorts to kiss them; that only in this way could the popular standing of the sorority be maintained. Under such circumstances it is inevitable that there should be frequent moral tragedies. The number of such cases is sufficiently large to be an occasion for genuine alarm over the tendencies of the time. As to whether moral conditions are better or worse than in past decades, or whether the situation is more alarming on college campuses than in non-college communities, the writer cannot say. The one thing that is absolutely certain is that there is incontrovertible evidence to indicate that the present moral situation on many campuses is very serious indeed.

Interest in Social Questions

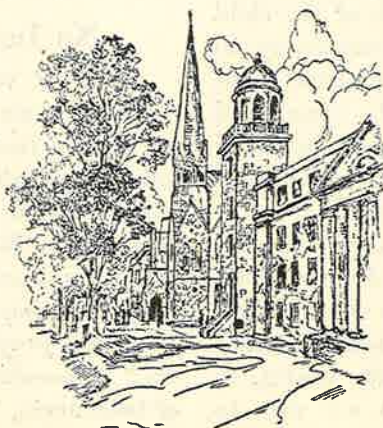
3. On the opposite side of the balance sheet are three extremely favorable items. The first is that an increasing number of students are becoming well informed and deeply aroused concerning the great social problems of the day. A conspicuous example of this is found in the changing attitude toward war and international problems. The relative number of students who take the absolutist position that they will not participate in any future war is steadily increasing. Sentiment against military training in colleges is also increasing. The movement against the compulsory feature of military training in a number of State universities is assuming significant proportions. Various student bodies and conferences have voted adversely to Defense Day. Of great significance is the intensified interest in the World Court and League of Nations now being manifested among students. The Council of Christian Associations, a body officially representing the student departments of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., at its meeting last week voted to inaugurate a nation-wide campaign in the colleges this autumn to create sentiment favorable to the entrance of the United States into the World Court and recommended for special study the Harmony Peace Program.

There is also a real awakening among a selected group of college students concerning racial and economic problems. Even in the South a number of students are beginning to challenge accepted standards and practices with reference to the treatment of Negroes. Interracial committees of white people and Negroes have been formed on a number of campuses. There is, perhaps, an even greater awakening with reference to the significance of economic and industrial problems. One of the deepest responses provoked by any speaker at the student conferences this summer was that which followed the appeal for the simple life made by Bill Simpson, who is sometimes referred to as the Ghandi of America, at the Silver Bay Conference. Many college students are beginning to look critically at the whole question of luxury and personal expenditure. There is an increasing tendency among college students to make a critical evaluation of the present industrial order.

4. In contrast to the general aimlessness of most students, a small but influential group are facing the question of life work with great seriousness. Whereas, in former student generations the most consecrated students turned toward the foreign missionary field, an increasing number are now turning toward the fields of business, international relations, and other social problems with an equal devotion. There is a growing realization among certain students that foreign missionaries are not the only persons who are obligated to follow the will of God for their lives, and that the missionary calling is not the only one in which fully consecrated men and women are urgently needed. There has been a new awakening as to the importance of Bible study. Bruce Curry, of the Biblical Seminary of New York, has been going about the country during the past two years showing students how to study the Bible, and has met with an extraordinary response. The average attendance at the Bible classes at Silver Bay was higher this year than for many years.

More Student Initiative

5. One of the most significant things that is happening in the colleges is the rapid increase in student initiative in the Christian associations. There was a day when the student Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. was directed almost exclusively by a few mature leaders like John R. Mott, Robert E. Speer, and Sherwood Eddy. Within the last three years, however, students have been assuming an increasing share of control of the student movement. The high peak was reached at the national council meeting at Lake Forest during the first week in September. Those of us who have been intimately in touch with the student movement for some years were thrilled at the quality of the delegates assembled and the initiative which they manifested. They are now assuming responsibility for the determination of major questions of policy. Another indication of this rise of student initiative is found in the great interdenominational student conference being planned for the Christmas vacation at Evanston. Another interesting phase is found in the decision of the students to experiment with a joint conference of men and women at Estes Park, Colorado. There was general agreement among those present that this was one of the best conferences ever held. It is not an exaggeration to say that within the past two years a genuine student movement has come into being in this country. It is difficult to overstate the importance of this development as it relates to the part that students are to play in the solution of the great problems of our day.



WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

EVERY healthy-minded Christian must have, as Paul, a skylark motion in his religion. Some churchmen keep too close to the nest. Their religion is provincially intimate, morbidly individualistic. They need to swing out to catch world-views. On the other hand, many in modern times need to come in from a merely general public interest in religion to a close-up personal intimacy with the living Christ.

We shall never redeem men by vague general interest in religion. We come to vital grips with our religious beliefs only in the intimacy of the personal and the possessive.—RALPH W. SOCKMAN.

THE ADULT BIBLE CLASS MAGAZINE

NOVEMBER

1925

Jesus and Modern Social Problems

A Churchman Views His Political Affiliations

**Is There Class Distinction Within
the Protestant Church?**

The United States Women's Bureau and Its Task

Improved Uniform Lessons

CHICAGO

The Pilgrim Press

BOSTON

The Adult Bible Class Magazine

NOVEMBER, 1925

JESUS AND MODERN SOCIAL PROBLEMS

KIRBY PAGE

WHAT light does the teaching of Jesus shed upon modern social problems? Can we get any guidance from him concerning the complex and baffling questions of the day? Does he reveal to us what we ought to do about the open or closed shop in industry, the party system in politics, the raising or lowering of the bars against immigration, military preparedness, the League of Nations, and a thousand other important matters which are pressing upon us? It is obvious that detailed and authoritative answers from Jesus are not forthcoming. He did not establish a moral code. Any effort, therefore, to use the Bible as an arsenal of proof-texts will merely plunge us more deeply into controversy. The contributions which Jesus can make toward the solution of current problems is in the realm of ideals and attitudes. His purpose was to state clearly and simply the great principles of the moral life, leaving individuals and groups to apply them in particular cases. If we are to get any light from him, we must, therefore, keep his fundamental principles constantly in mind.

Specifications for a Christian Life

Jesus conceived of life in family terms. God is Father and all men are brothers. With Jesus there is no discrimination on grounds of race, nationality, class, or sex. He mingled on terms of equality with Jews, Samaritans, Syro-phenicians, Greeks and Romans, rich and poor, high and lowly, saints and sinners. He looked upon every human being as a child of God and therefore of inestimable value, each one more precious than the whole world of material possessions. He taught that the individual child of God should always be treated as an end in himself and never merely as a means to the pleasure or gratification of another. Rather than cause one of these little ones to stumble, it would be better for a man to drown himself in the sea.

Since God is Father and all men are brothers and each is of priceless worth, it follows that Christian virtues are family virtues. Attitudes and practices which have no place in the ideal family are wrong for Christians. Jesus has no place in his way of life for hatred, retaliation and revenge. "Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, but I say unto you—" something radically different. On the other hand, followers of Jesus are under the positive obligation to treat every person as a member of the Father's family.

In response to a question as to which is the greatest commandment, Jesus summarized all the law, the prophets and the gospel in terms of love—the pre-eminent family virtue—love toward God and toward man. We are to love not only the good and attractive

members of the family, but also the wicked and unlovely, including those who are seeking to do us harm and even to destroy us. "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that spitefully use you," nothing less than this is the challenge of Jesus. Not only love, but forgiveness, is demanded. In response to the question of Peter as to whether he should forgive his brother seven times, Jesus replied, "Seventy times seven," that is to say, live always in the forgiving spirit. Love and forgiveness are the means of redeeming the erring one and of restoring him to the family circle. Therefore, the innocent members must love and serve and suffer for the sake of the guilty. That this is the gospel of Jesus is to be seen not only in his teaching but pre-eminently in his example. The cross of Calvary is only the natural culmination of Jesus' manner of life. Here we see the innocent loving, serving, suffering, dying for the sake of the guilty. This, says Jesus, is the way every member of the family ought to live. "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." This is the way to restore the broken family bonds; overcome evil by doing good.

There is no place in a family religion for greed. Listen to these words: "Take heed, and keep yourselves from all covetousness: for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth. . . . For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and forfeit his life?

It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God. . . . Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth. . . . Ye cannot serve God and mammon." A good member of the family does not live to gain, but to serve. Comfort and luxuries are of secondary importance. "Be not therefore anxious, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? . . . Seek ye first his kingdom and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." Our primary obligation is to seek the realm of right relations, with God and with our fellows. Therefore, our time, energy, talents, and means are to be regarded as a sacred trust to be administered for the good of the family of God. "Who-soever would become great among you shall be your minister, and whosoever would be first among you shall be your servant. . . . For whosoever would save his life shall lose it; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake, the same shall save it."

This, then, is Jesus' way of life: To live in daily companionship with God as Father; to regard every human being as of inestimable value, always to be

treated as an end, never as a means; to look upon every person as a member of the family, God's family, and therefore worthy of understanding, sympathy, affection, forgiveness, service, and sacrifice; to refuse ever to be motivated by greed, hatred, retaliation, or revenge; to seek first and all the time the kingdom or family of God, endeavoring to overcome evil by doing good.

Current Problems

Do the teaching and spirit of Jesus shed any light upon specific social problems in our day? If every human being, however weak and undeveloped, is of infinite value, what shall we say of exploitation, the using of another unjustly for our own gain or gratification? What justification is there for such practices as the following: the twelve-hour day in industry; the payment of wages which are insufficient to enable a man to support himself and family in health and decency; the housing of vast numbers of the less able or less fortunate workers in tenements or hovels which prevent wholesome living; political domination and exploitation of the peoples of the backward nations for the comfort and luxury of the more favored peoples? If we are under obligation to love our neighbor, that is, anyone who is in need, in the same way that God loves us, what excuse is there for living in luxury while many are in dire poverty? How shall we justify the diverting of raw materials, labor, and money into the production of luxuries and thereby increasing the cost of necessities for the poor?

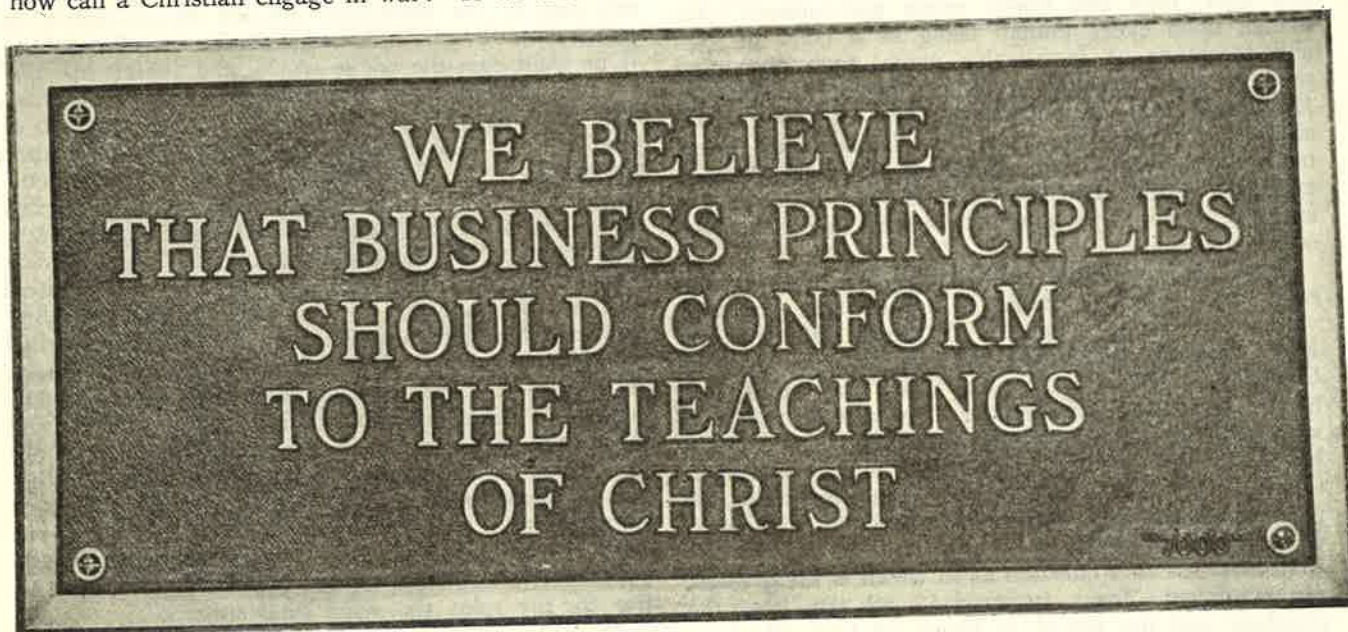
If Jesus' conception of all men and women as members of one family is valid, what about the tendency to classify people into categories and then treat them merely as members of a group, class, nation, or race, rather than as individuals of infinite worth? What Christian justification is there for determining one's relations to another person on the basis of color, language, class, or nationality? If there is no place in the religion of Jesus for hatred, retaliation, and revenge, how can a Christian engage in war? If we are under

obligation to love our enemies, to forgive them seventy times seven, and to overcome evil by doing good, are we ever justified in using bayonets, guns, gas and blockades against them?

Is Jesus' Way of Life Practicable?

That Jesus' religion is a family affair can scarcely be questioned. The real question is this: Are we expected to live as he did? What will happen to us if we do? Was his way really practicable even for himself? Another question must first be answered: Practicable for what? Certainly not as a means of gaining comfort, luxury, or safety, nor as a way to achieve success as success is measured by customary standards! His last breath was drawn on a criminal cross. The acclamations of the multitude had died away. His disciples had betrayed, denied, and deserted him. His cause seemed to have gone down in irretrievable disaster. Practical for what? As a means of building the family of God! The cross of shame and despair has become the symbol of glory and victory. From that life of agony and humiliation has come more of cleansing, redeeming, and restoring than from all other sources combined. Today this family religion of Jesus is the supreme hope of a divided, class-ridden, war-torn humanity. But mankind awaits the coming of a greater number of followers of Jesus who have the faith, the love, and the courage to incarnate the family virtues in flesh and blood. To live this way cost Jesus his life. Most of the early disciples filled martyrs' graves as a result of their refusal to abandon his religion. Through the ages in all lands those men and women who have most nearly approximated his attitudes and practices have found themselves treading the way of the cross. All this is in accordance with the warning of Jesus: "The Son of man must suffer many things, and be rejected by the elders, and the chief priests, and the scribes, and be killed. . . . Behold, I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves."

(Continued on page 40)



This bronze tablet is on the West End Presbyterian Church of New York City. It was suggested by a business man who believed in applying the teachings of Christ to industrial relations.

How Mr. Niebuhr Answers the Question

There are no class distinctions within the Protestant church largely because the Protestant church is itself identified with a single class—the middle class. . . . The effort to establish a brotherhood within the Christian church is therefore of small moment at the present time beside the greater task of overcoming the social chasm which threatens to divide the Protestant church from a large section of the population of our country.

only help individuals to succeed, but we must help whole classes to come into their own. We must remove injustices in social and economic life which operate against the life of the worker. Except we do this, the most frantic evangelism will not gain or preserve the loyalty of the workers to our churches.

The Moral Peril of Protestantism Today

We have already intimated that the problem in America is complicated by the race situation. The North Europeans settled America first. They have, by the advantage of prior possession and also possibly by the virtue of superior diligence and thrift, come into possession of the power and privilege of our industrial life. The manual toil, the "dirty work" in our industries, is performed by South Europeans on the whole. Thus a deep chasm is being created in which all three forces of social life, race, class, and religion, are operative. They are Catholic and we are Protestant; they are South Europeans and we are "Nordics"; they are the workers and we are the owners. No one can say what such a situation will develop in time. Already there are many cities in New England and elsewhere where a clear-cut social and political struggle has developed between the two groups, with the South Europeans often in control of the political machinery by virtue of their alliance with the Irish, and the Protestants in undisputed supremacy in the industrial and economic world. In such struggles the Protestants are usually on the side of moral decency against police administrations which permit the worst type of laxity in the moral life of the city. But they are also often on the side of economic privilege against the rising tide of the democracy. The moral peril of Protestantism today is that it should imagine itself the tool of God because it believes in decency and should be blind to its moral limitations which lead it into a support of privilege against efforts of social and economic readjustment.

The effort to establish a brotherhood within the Christian church is therefore of small moment at the present time beside the greater task of overcoming the social chasm which threatens to divide the Protestant church from a large section of the population of our country. Certainly we should strive for brotherhood

within the confines of our fellowship. A gospel of brotherhood that cannot validate itself in its own life will hardly conquer the world. We must strive to erase class and race distinctions within the confines of the Protestant church. But still more is it necessary that we look with the utmost honesty into the motives and instincts which prompt the political and social attitudes of Protestant people. If we do not do this with absolute sincerity we will finally have a nation of warring camps not dissimilar to the community at Herrin, where a frightful civil war has raged for several years with the most pious Protestants on one side and Catholics on the other. The Protestants claimed they were fighting for law and order and the Catholics asserted they were fighting for social justice. Both were right. That is the tragedy of it. True religion must produce not only decency, but love. As long as Protestantism develops moral purity, but does not develop a sensitive conscience in the field of economic and social morality it will remain a class religion. It will not build the kingdom of God as it ought.

JESUS AND MODERN SOCIAL PROBLEMS

(Continued from page 34)

. . . . If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household! . . . They shall put you out of the synagogues: yea, the hour cometh, that whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service to God. . . . For whosoever would save his life shall lose it: and whosoever shall lose his life for my sake shall find it. . . . Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit."

What then shall we say? Does the ethics of Jesus shed any light upon the solution of concrete social problems in our day? How should a native-born, white American treat a Negro or a Japanese? At least this much is clear from the teaching and spirit of Jesus: The Negro or Japanese should be regarded as a member of God's family, and treated accordingly. Just how a member of God's family should be treated must be determined in the light of the actual facts in a concrete situation, but certainly there is no Christian justification for discrimination or exploitation because of color or race. What should a Christian business man do about Bolshevism, or a Christian member of the I. W. W. do about capitalism? In each case the members of the opposing group are still members of the family and there is no excuse for hatred, violence or revenge. In wartime what should be the attitude of Americans toward Germans? If the religion of Jesus has any validity in our day, the injunction to love our enemies, pray for them and do them good, is still binding upon followers of Jesus. In the end it all comes down to this: The religion of Jesus can help solve the complex social problems of our day just in the proportion as his followers have his faith in spiritual processes and the supremacy of good over evil, his compassion and love for evil-doers, and his courage to keep on loving and serving, even though this way of life leads to the cross of suffering, shame, and seeming defeat.

We do not love after the fashion of Christ, nor do we try to do so. We are content to battle valiantly for what we call the truth, forgetting that the supreme truth is love. No truth is worth having which is brought by the surrender of love. Christ was a friend, a brother, a fellow-worker.

We Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics and Protestants, Presbyterians and Methodists, Baptists and Lutherans, Episcopalians and Congregationalists, Unitarians and Quakers, and all the rest of us no matter what our name, must be friends, comrades, brothers and fellow-workers. It is not necessary that we use the same forms of worship, or the same forms of government, or the same forms of theological opinion, but it is indispensable that we be friends, comrades, brothers and fellow-workers. We must trust one another, and help one another, and sacrifice for one another. That much is certain. If we are not willing to fight side by side on the great battlefield against falsehood and wrong or to work side by side in the same vineyard for the cultivation of the same fruits of the spirit, or to combine our forces in the same town for the pulling down of the strongholds of evil, we present to the world a spectacle which is a scandal.

VIII.

We need to take lessons from our Lord and Saviour, and also from the apostle Paul, who knew the Master's mind as few have ever known it. To Paul the church is a temple. In the temple all the stones are fitted together and one stone supports another. To Paul the church is a body, the body of Christ. In that body every member is knit to every other member by vital bonds. Every joint—or as we would say, every social contact—contributes to the vital force by means of which the whole body is built up. To Paul the church is a family, and all the followers of Jesus are

brothers and sisters, living their life under the law of love.

Let the pope and patriarchs and the cardinals and the archbishops and the bishops and the ministers and the priests and the elders and deacons, all set themselves to the work of finding out what Christian love really is. Why leave that word vague when it is the keystone of the Christian arch? Why ignore, "As I have loved you," when such love is the test of discipleship and the proof of the divinity of our religion? If every Christian pulpit throughout the world should once a month in every year expound and glorify the principle of life set forth in the New Commandment, these sermons would be so many leaves from the tree of life for the healing of the nations.

"Love one another as I have loved you." This is the passionate desire of our Lord. It is his deepest desire. It was his dominant longing in the last hour of his life in the flesh, and it is his dominant longing still. He is the same yesterday, today and forever. His last word in the upper chamber was not an exhortation or a command but a prayer. Before starting for the garden of Gethsemane he poured out his heart unto God. In this prayer there was one supreme and often repeated petition, "That they all may be one even as we are one." In his prayer as in his conversation, he was still dwelling on the conviction that the one and only way in which the world can be persuaded that God has indeed sent his Son, is the spectacle of his followers loving one another. His prayer was not for the entire human race. It was for the men who were with him in that room, and also for the innumerable company who should believe on his name. He prayed, therefore, for us, and his prayer is now, as it was then, "That they may be perfected into one," for only as we are perfected into one will it be possible for us to be with him where he is and behold his glory.

Why Germany Elected Hindenburg

By Kirby Page

FIELD MARSHAL VON HINDENBURG is today president of the German republic. Why was he elected—this old man nearing four score years of age, a convinced monarchist and so typical a representative of the old order of things? The easy answer is to say that his election is merely another bit of evidence of the innate perversity and inherent barbarity of the Germans. But the whole affair is so fraught with significance for the peace of the world that we cannot afford to indulge in superficial or impassioned explanations. Why was Hindenburg elected? To give a comprehensive answer we must make a brief summary of the chief international events since 1914.

GERMANY'S SELF-DEFENSE

The first important fact which must be kept in mind is this: The vast majority of the German people thought they were fighting in self defense in the world war. Preposterous as this idea may appear to allied peoples, there can be little doubt that in it is to be found the explanation

of the patriotic devotion and sacrifice of the rank and file of Germans during the war. They believed the fatherland to be menaced by the existing military alliance between Russia and France. They believed that Russia was backing Serbia in her efforts to disrupt Austria-Hungary, with the consequent disturbance of the balance of power and the menace of Germany. In defense of their military and naval preparedness the German leaders called attention to the fact that the Russian army was far larger than the German army, while that of France was almost as large as their own, and that the British navy was about twice as powerful as the German navy. In total expenditures for army and navy during the years 1873-1913 Germany ranked fourth among the nations, her total being 7,434 million dollars, as compared with France 8,568 millions, Great Britain 8,401 millions, Russia 7,581 millions. During the fourteen years immediately preceding 1914 the rank in order of total expenditures for armaments was: Great Britain first, then Russia, Germany, France. A huge pro-

portion of the German people indignantly repudiate the contention that their country was alone guilty of causing the war. This sentiment has been greatly intensified since the armistice by the circulation within Germany of the writings of allied and neutral historians setting forth the joint guilt of the major European powers, many of which have maintained that Russia, Austria, and Serbia were more guilty than was Germany.

IDENTICAL ATTITUDES

The German people have the same emotional attitudes toward the war that the allied peoples have, owing to the colossal losses of the war. A total of 1,600,000 German soldiers died in the war, with an equal number seriously wounded. In the high schools and colleges of Germany are to be seen the honor rolls and memorials to the brave dead, just as in allied countries. Moreover, the rank and file of German people have suffered almost unendurable agonies during the past eleven years. During the war and for six months afterward the Allied hunger blockade caused an incalculable amount of suffering and disease among the German people, especially among women, children and the aged. Since the war the depreciation and collapse of the mark and the consequent financial and industrial chaos has plunged most of Germany into indescribable suffering and misery. Then too the German people are fully aware of the staggering financial costs of the war. German war costs amounted to the stupendous sum of 37 billion dollars. This money came out of the pockets of the German people, and with the collapse of the mark the bonds which they received have become absolutely worthless. This generation of Germans has paid in full for 37 billion dollars of war costs. Under the sway of emotions arising out of such conditions human beings do not always act rationally.

The German people believe they were betrayed in the peace. They call attention to the fact that the allies signed the armistice terms, agreeing to make peace on a basis of President Wilson's fourteen points, with two reservations, and then they point to the treaty of Versailles, which they regard as an absolute repudiation of the solemn pledge of the allies. During the past six years wide circulation within Germany has been given to the writings of allied and neutral statesmen and historians concerning the iniquities of the treaty. Beyond question the rank and file of Germans believe they were betrayed in the peace.

FRENCH DESIGNS

The German people believe that the French government has been endeavoring to disrupt and destroy the political and economic power of Germany. Their leaders call attention to such facts as these: The treaty of Versailles provides for the reduction of the German army to a police force of 100,000, while the French army has been maintained at about 700,000. The German navy has been reduced to an almost negligible size. The Rhineland is to be occupied by allied troops for fifteen years, many of the French leaders maintaining that due to German defaults this period has not yet begun to run. Germany, of course, is required to pay the costs of the army of occupation, which during the first four years after the armistice amounted to two-thirds as much as the total amount spent upon the German

army and navy during the four years prior to the war, and still reaches an exceedingly high figure. Germany was deprived of all of her colonies, 90 per cent of her merchant shipping, 75 per cent of her iron ore, 25 per cent of her coal, and vast supplies of essential raw products, while east Prussia was cut off from the rest of Germany by the Danzig corridor. In addition an indemnity of 32 billion dollars was imposed. This amount plus the 37 billion dollars of German war costs gives an aggregate sum larger than the entire national wealth of Germany prior to the war and one very far in excess of the post-war wealth of Germany. It is now almost universally admitted that the terms of the treaty were too drastic to be capable of fulfillment. And yet on the ground of German default, French troops first took possession of Dusseldorf and Duisburg and later occupied the Ruhr, the industrial heart of Germany. It is an incontrovertible fact that French money and French brains have directed the separatist movements, the aim of which has been to detach permanently the Rhineland province from Germany. All of these facts are cumulative evidence to the German people that a determined effort is being made to destroy the fatherland.

UNFORTUNATE BEGINNING

The only experience which the German people have had with the republican form of government has been during a period of unprecedented misery and chaos. That is to say, they have not an opportunity to observe the operation of this form of government under normal circumstances. On the other hand, there has been a widespread tendency to blame the republic for the miseries of the people. This is simply in line with the worldwide practice of blaming the government for everything that goes wrong. It should also be remembered that there has always been a more affectionate relationship between the sovereign and people of Germany than in most countries.

Hindenburg combined a number of qualities which made a powerful appeal to the sentiments of the German people. He is by far the most popular German hero of the war. It was he who drove back the invading Russian army. It was he who won the most spectacular victories of the field and then led the German forces back after the armistice. His record has been entirely free from graft or corruption. This campaign was his first experience in politics. He is a staunch Lutheran, whereas his chief opponent Marx is a Roman Catholic. He is a monarchist by conviction. In the light of all these facts, do we have any reason to be surprised that he was elected as president of the German republic? If the circumstances had been reversed would not the American people have elected Pershing as president of the United States?

Concerning the significance of his election, the evidence is less clear. The writer's own opinion is that the policies of Germany will not be greatly changed in the immediate future as a result of the election. The foreign policy of Germany now rests upon the Dawes plan. Any effort to overthrow this plan would immediately plunge Germany into chaos if not actual anarchy. The monarchists realize this fact and it seems highly probable that they will continue to support the Dawes plan. Germany is in no position to fight a great war and cannot be for many years to come.

The election of Hindenburg does not necessarily mean a return to the monarchy, for the very powerful reason that more than half the German voters do not desire such a change. It should be emphasized that, in spite of all the factors mentioned above, Hindenburg received less than half the votes cast in the recent election. This is a fact of enormous importance. The class feeling is so intense and bitter in Germany that any attempt at restoration of the monarchy would undoubtedly result in civil war. Millions of radical workers would risk their lives in defense of the republic. Moreover, Hindenburg has sworn to uphold the republic, and since he is genuinely concerned to restore unity among the German people it is not likely that he will precipitate a civil war by a rash endeavor to bring back the kaiser, who is himself far less popular than is the idea of a monarchy.

The real danger of the immediate situation is to be found in the effects of Hindenburg's election upon public opinion in allied countries. A new weapon has been placed in the hands of those who are advocating military and naval

preparedness and the pacification of Europe has undoubtedly been rendered more difficult. There is now less certainty about Germany's entrance into the league of nations in September, although this is still a probability. On the other hand, the German election may put new life and vitality into the peace forces of the world, since the alternatives have been more clearly revealed by this event. A new race of armaments, leading to new alliances and a new balance of power, will surely result in another great war with its calamitous consequences. The only effective alternative is an international agreement outlawing war and the substitution of law and orderly processes of international government—legislation, administration and adjudication—for international anarchy and violence. Recent events have emphasized the truth of the statement by H. G. Wells that we are witnessing a race between education and catastrophe. If Hindenburg's election serves to reveal the alternatives more clearly and injects new vitality into the forces that are making for peace, it may prove to be a blessing in disguise. And so it all depends!

The Battle of Princeton—1925

By Paul Hutchinson

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY, is old fighting ground. Markers lie thick along the miles between this college town and Trenton, ten miles away. Each marker commemorates some feat of battle. Nassau hall, center of the university campus, still cherishes the scar of British cannon. It is a peaceful looking village. Quiet streets, arched by great trees, border a campus on which ivy-clad buildings bask in sunshine and echo the cries of care-free youngsters who all too dimly appreciate their fortune. Yet the battle of Princeton is on again in full roar.

Advance rumblings of the conflict reached the ears of the country several months ago. With the arrival of the commencement season of 1925 the fight has surged into the open. It is spread now across the columns of the press. This struggle has resolved itself into a contest for the control of the theological seminary—the richest and most conservative institution of the kind conducted by the Presbyterian church. For the moment, at least, the fortune of battle favors the president of the school, Dr. J. Ross Stevenson, and those who, with him, would withstand the effort of the party led by an assistant professor, Dr. J. Gresham Machen, to make the seminary headquarters for a fighting fundamentalism.

A BATTLE OF PERSONALITIES

The battle of Princeton, 1925, has been largely a battle of personalities. Some of the fighters have protested that this was not the case. No feature of the recent commencement exercises provided more interest for the onlookers than the attempts of the members of the contending factions to maintain an appearance of personal friendship. But the plain truth is that, were not certain personalities what they are, there would be no battle. To understand what is in progress at Princeton it is necessary at least

to attempt to know what manner of men are those who are forcing the fighting.

On the one hand, there are the intransigent fundamentalists, led within the seminary by Dr. Machen, and without it by Dr. Clarence Edward Macartney, the retiring moderator of the general assembly, and by Dr. David S. Kennedy, the editor of the weekly Presbyterian. Dr. Machen is an assistant professor in the department of New Testament. It is unusual to find a man of subordinate rank attempting to secure a virtual revolution in the administration of a school, but the vigor and intensity of Dr. Machen's personality is suggested by the way in which, apparently without misgiving, he has sought to capture Princeton. With his colleague, Dr. Robert Dick Wilson, Dr. Machen ranks as one of the most competent scholars within the fundamentalist ranks. As a student of the writings of St. Paul, his work, while conservative, has compelled respect. But in his efforts to secure practical control at Princeton—as well as in his efforts to promote the fundamentalist program in the Presbyterian denomination at large—Dr. Machen has revealed a capacity for detailed maneuverings, an aptitude for political finesse, together with a rigidity of mind and spirit that have made him feared more than admired. Son of a conservative Maryland family—he has one brother who heads the movement in that state for the repeal of the 18th amendment to the federal constitution—Dr. Machen reveals the antipathy to change of any kind which characterizes that section of society. As he sits brooding in an assembly, dark eye-brows drawn down across a dark face, he looks every inch the man who instinctively votes "no" on any proposal involving change. One suspects that he suffers with his digestion. He is not married.

Dr. Macartney is of much the same type, save that he

Eight Weeks in England

KIRBY PAGE

RAMSAY MACDONALD was the most cordially hated man in England during the War. He now stands as one of the two great white hopes of the peace forces of the world. Philip Snowden ran his chief a close second in the race for the honor of being the most abhorred person in the British Isles. Today he enjoys a popularity in these islands that no British statesman has equalled in a decade.

"The Patriotism of Ramsay MacDonald and Others," was the title of a book published in 1916, by Claud Mullins. In the course of a bitter indictment, the author said: "Of all the Labour leaders who have not supported the national cause during the War, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is the ringleader. . . . an idol of the anti-patriots among the Socialists. . . . Of all unpatriotic leaders of Labour, the one who is most closely akin to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is Mr. Philip Snowden. . . . After the War those who have not been loyal to their country will stand a very poor chance of obtaining political support."

A clergyman of Leicester, in an open letter, said: "To Mr. Ramsay MacDonald: . . . you have no moral right to enjoy liberty and security under the British flag . . . you smite all the finest enthusiasms of our soldier heroes down with deadly chill. Your influence is a paralysis. . . . At the beginning of the War you played the traitor to Britain's cause. . . . You have been fiddling whilst Rome was burning. You are not of us nor for us."

The other day the Moray Golf Club of Lossiemouth rescinded action taken during the War expelling Ramsay MacDonald from membership because of his unpatriotic attitude. A similar effort to revoke this action in 1924 failed to secure the required number of votes. That it required ten years for the home town of the Prime Minister to make amends, indicates the depth of resentment over his apostasy during the War.

By way of parenthesis, it should be remembered that during the War pacifists in the United States were exposed to similar contempt and persecution. It was a President of a great American university who said: "Our pacifist friends whose well meaning utterances in the present crisis are nothing more or less than treason should consider the inevitable tendency of their peace propaganda."

After two months here in England, I am strongly convinced that the Labor government has gained enormously in popularity during the brief period of its tenure and that if another election were held tomorrow it would be returned with a clear majority in the House.

In my opinion, Britain will be ruled by a Labor Government for several years, perhaps a decade or more, to come.

WHAT are the reasons for this rapid increase in popular esteem? Foreign policy is the chief explanation. Advanced steps have been taken, or give promise of early maturity, with regard to disarmament, the optional clause of the World Court, the autonomy of Egypt, the recognition of Russia, the early evacuation of the Rhineland, ratification of the eight-hour convention of the International Labor Organization, and by no means least of all, the stand of Mr. Snowden at the Hague.

There is extreme optimism here that a notable agreement concerning naval disarmament will soon be announced by Premier MacDonald and President Hoover. It is recognized that the difficulties involved are very serious. There is no widespread feeling here that Great Britain needs to arm against the United States, but the so-called "minimum requirements" of the British navy are put at such a high figure as to make drastic reductions difficult. Every Englishman holds to the passionate conviction that the fate of the empire depends upon the adequacy of the navy. British possessions are far flung and the routes of communication are vulnerable. Supremacy of the seas has been axiomatic here for so long and the two-power standard prevailed for so many decades that the English people, particularly the official class, are extremely reluctant to face the inevitable and adjust their policy to that of the United States. This makes the task of the Prime Minister extraordinarily difficult, and if he succeeds in persuading his naval advisers to accept "minimum requirements" on a sufficiently low level to make possible an agreement with the United States which provides not merely for limitation but actual and drastic reduction of naval armaments, he will deserve to go down in history as one of Britain's great statesmen. That his position is far more delicate and hazardous than that of President Hoover should be recognized by the American public.

The proposed Anglo-Egyptian treaty goes much further toward complete autonomy than any British Government has hitherto been willing to go since the original occupation in 1882. By the provisions of this agreement, which, of course, has yet to be ratified by the two Governments, "the military occupation of Egypt by the forces of His Britannic Majesty is terminated;" the capitulations are abolished and "respon-

sibility for the lives and property of foreigners in Egypt devolves henceforth upon the Egyptian Government; an alliance is established; a garrison of British troops for the protection of the Suez Canal will be maintained, but will be moved from Cairo to new quarters in the Canal Zone, most of which is a desert region; each country will be represented by an Ambassador; the Sudan will be governed jointly; Great Britain will support Egypt's application for membership in the League of Nations.

The temper of the new administration was indicated by the prompt dismissal of the High Commissioner of Egypt, Lord Lloyd, on the ground that he was not in sympathy with the new policy of the Government. The stupid attacks upon the Foreign Secretary by Winston Churchill and Lord Brentford furnished him an opportunity for a brilliant Parliamentary triumph. There is strong reason to believe that the nation as a whole, with the exception of the most reactionary wing of the Tories, will support this forward step by the Labor Government. Even the usually critical extreme left of the Labor Party seems to be pleased.

The proposed signing of the optional clause of the statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice seems to me to be a step of the utmost significance. If all the great powers will accept the compulsory juris-

diction of the court in justiciable questions, the Pact of Paris will be strengthened immeasurably. Failure on Britain's part to ratify the eight-hour convention of the International Labor Organization has heretofore proved to be a formidable stumbling-block to the I.L.O. The proposed ratification by the new administration will have significance far beyond its effects upon hours of labor. Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues are determined to extend and intensify the influence and prestige of the League of Nations and other international agencies. The recognition of Russia has temporarily been postponed, due to the refusal of the Soviet Government to enter into preliminary discussions concerning the questions at issue between the two countries. But there is every reason to believe that recognition will not long be delayed after the meeting of Parliament at the end of October. The English delegates at the Hague have already made it quite clear that all British troops will be withdrawn from German soil before Christmas, irrespective of any decision reached by France.

BY some strange irony, the aspect of the present socialist government's policy which has received the widest popular acclaim is that portion which has been most vigorously criticized abroad and which with-

Despite the fact that Britain seeks at the Hague Conference only enough to cover the heavy payments demanded from her by the U.S.A., the American press continues to comment bitterly upon Mr. Snowden's attitude.
DAILY PAPER.



"HEY, YOU SNOWDEN! HAVEN'T YOU GOT ANY MANNERS? QUIT SHOVING THOSE GUYS!"

—London Evening Standard

out doubt seriously jeopardized international relations and the peace of the world, namely, the stand of Chancellor Snowden at the Hague. I have been reading a wide range of publications and am deeply impressed with the unanimity of the approval of Snowden's insistence that the Spa percentages be observed, that the disposition of Germany's conditional and unconditional payments be made more equitable, and that England should not be victimized by Germany's deliveries in kind.

To understand the depth of British feeling on this question, it is necessary to recall the main course of the history of reparations during the past decade. As a result of the war madness, Lloyd George and his colleagues at Versailles made extravagant demands upon Germany. Whereas the French claimed an indemnity of 200 billion dollars from Germany, the British said that 110 billions would be sufficient. This figure was scaled down to 32 billions by the Reparation Commission and to about one-third of the latter amount by the Dawes Commission. It was an English economist, J. M. Keynes, who first demonstrated the absurdity of these grotesque claims. The British Government quickly reversed its policy and subsequently and consistently has advocated all-around cancellation of reparations and debts. And that is the attitude of the present administration.

Since the policy of the United States has made such a program impracticable, the Chancellor of the Exchequer has taken the position that undue sacrifices should not be imposed upon the British tax-payers. He is fond of pointing out that England has her own devastated regions and that it is the business of a British Government to see that further inequities are not inflicted upon its citizens. He emphasizes the fact that the United States exacted much more rigorous terms from England in the debt settlement than from Italy, France and several other debtors. Moreover, England was exceedingly generous in the terms granted to her debtors, notably to Italy and France.

Mr. Francis W. Hirst, well known economist and publicist, in a widely quoted letter to *The Times*, summarizes certain relevant facts as follows: "Under the War Debt Treaties with the United States (which are to last for 62 years) Great Britain is to pay 3.3 per cent. as an average rate of interest; Belgium, 1.8 per cent.; France, 1.6 per cent.; and Italy .4 per cent. . . . But the burden falls much more heavily upon Britain than these figures suggest, because our earlier payments are so much heavier than theirs in proportion. Thus up to 1927 all the Allied debtors together paid 847 million dollars to the United States, and of this sum the amount contributed by Great Britain was 802 million dollars, or 95 per cent. Yet our war debt to the United States is less than half the total War debt of the Allies. Taking the War debt payments to the

United States up to the end of the last fiscal year, I make out that Britain paid about 964 million dollars out of a total payment of 1,159 million dollars."

The feeling here is almost universal that rank injustice has been done to Great Britain in the reparation and debt settlements. The conviction is widespread that this inequity is due to the fact that British statesmen have surrendered point after point in numerous international gatherings since the War rather than see the conference break down, until France and Italy have come to assume that if they can only hold their ground long enough England will give way. This may or may not be the case but the average Englishman has no doubt whatever that it is true. Hence the extraordinary enthusiasm throughout the British Isles for a statesman with gizzard and backbone!

FRANCE and Italy, on the other hand, have strong cases. Reparations in the first instance were intended to cover the cost of restoring the devastated regions. Of the vast sums already expended on restoration, only a small fraction has come from German reparation, while Austria never will pay any substantial sum. The bulk of this necessary expenditure has come from the public treasury. Long since the idea has been abandoned of securing sufficient funds from Germany to finance the rehabilitation schemes. The hope now is to get enough from Germany to pay the stupendous debts to the United States and Great Britain. Each succeeding conference has caused their hopes to dwindle until at present there is deep apprehension that the actual German payments may not equal the demands made upon them by the inter-Allied debt settlements. To Frenchmen and Italians alike this seems intolerable injustice.

The Germans, however, think they have the strongest case of all. Upon what moral foundation does the payment of any reparation whatever rest? Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles and the notes handed to the German delegates by the President of the Peace Conference in which the sole guilt of Germany for the War was stated and reiterated—these are the cornerstone of reparation. I have recently gone over again the Allies' notes and am amazed at the baldness of the statement which is made again and again that Germany was solely responsible for the War, that she plotted and planned the conflict and chose the time for her attack upon her neighbors, with world domination as her goal. This thesis of the sole guilt of Germany has, however, been completely exploded by Allied and neutral historians—by Fay, Barnes, Gooch, Dickinson, Ewart, Ebray, Renouvin and a hundred other students of the documentary evidence. Why, then, should Germany pay reparations at all? This is what the Germans are asking in tones that will not be denied an answer. Because of damage done in Belgium and

France? Then the Allies should honor counter-claims for damage done in East Prussia and to the whole German population by the terrible blockade clamped upon them throughout the War.

The agreement at the Hague, following the prolonged deadlock, is highly advantageous alike to Germany and the Allies. Failure would have plunged Europe into chaos. But it is not a *final* settlement. Let us be absolutely clear regarding this point. No permanent solution is possible under the present prevailing conditions.

There are few well informed observers in Europe who believe that Germany will continue to make heavy payments to the Allies for the next six decades. One distinguished publicist says: "Broadly regarded, the 'Young Plan' is a piece of complicated make-believe. It solemnly enumerates the annuities which Germany shall pay during the next fifty-nine years. . . . Nobody in his senses imagines that, fifty-eight years hence, Germany will still be dutifully paying those annuities; nor does anybody think that the European war-debt settlements with the United States will smoothly run their concurrent course." Those who expect such payments to continue indefinitely are due to receive sad disillusionment. Four primary forces will increasingly mitigate against heavy German payments: lack of the will to pay in Germany, due to a deep conviction of the hideous injustice of reparations payments; inability of Germany to transfer the huge amounts called for; unwillingness on the part of the Allies to receive stupendous deliveries in kind or to accept sufficient quantities of German imports; the Allies' lack of will to collect, since most of the money is merely passed along to the United States to cover debt payments. The *Saturday Review* inquires: "Does any sane man think that half Europe is going to pay reparations in order that the other half may pay it to America in interest on war debt? The system cannot possibly endure."

The United States, in turn, has a good case. The debts are legal obligations; great generosity has already been shown in reducing interest rates; the peace terms of Versailles revealed a spirit of revenge and greed on the part of the Allies; all these countries are expending enormous sums annually upon armaments; the citizens of the United States will be required to pay off the debts if the Allies do not—these are elements in the argument advanced by those who insist upon the faithful observance of the funding agreements.

THIS combination of "good cases" brings humanity face to face with its most explosive and threatening international problem. Vast volumes of ill-will are being generated by this question of reparation and debts; far more dangerous passions are being aroused than by controversies over armaments. The Hague deadlock released a volume of bitter abuse in the press

of the respective countries. The French and Italian papers have been vitriolic against England, and while the press in the British Isles has been more moderate, it has at times revealed an ominous depth of resentment.

"Why Grovel to Uncle Sam?" is the title of an outspoken article. The attitude of the writer is reflected in these words: "The Americans came into the European war simply and solely as debt collectors. They entered it when Wall Street pressed the button, with the utmost astuteness, at precisely the right moment for themselves, and secured the maximum of spoil with the least possible expenditure of blood. . . . Unfortunately, the world has had abundant evidence during the past ten years that the real power behind the American throne is vested in a gang of financiers whose policy is selfish, grasping and materialistic. . . . A generation hence, the United States may succeed in forcing the principal nations of Europe into an economic union to resist her commercial rapacity." Viscount Rothermere, owner of numerous newspapers, recently published a lurid article under the title, "Will Wall Street Swallow Europe?"

Here is the acid test for the peace forces of the world. No number of disarmament agreements, no pacts renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, no Leagues of Nations—nothing, absolutely nothing can dam up and hold back the terrifying accumulation of resentment, bitterness and hatred being created daily by the passionate sense of injustice of the present reparation and debt settlements—that is, nothing except a drastic change of policy on the part of the United States. Two elements in the present program of our Government make any permanent solution of reparation and debts utterly impossible: the simultaneous effort to collect war debts and to raise tariffs. Either one would be serious for Europe, but together they are deadly beyond description. However strong may be our case for the one or the other, their retention will surely and certainly wreck the peace of the world during the next three or four decades if they are retained. Only a fatal blindness and a deadly paralysis will prevent the peace forces of the United States from seeing the nature of the present crisis and keep them from putting forth strenuous and continuous efforts to change public opinion on debts and tariffs. As important as is an agreement with Britain concerning naval disarmament, as significant as is the Briand-Kellogg treaty, as helpful as would be our adherence to the World Court—all these combined will not suffice to preserve the peace of the world unless workers for peace succeed in changing the present economic policies of the United States. To neglect these mighty financial and commercial problems is to insure defeat in the crusade to abolish war and establish enduring friendship among the nations.

Senator Borah, Outlawry and the League

KIRBY PAGE

THE nations of Europe are very eager to find out just what interpretation Secretary Kellogg gives to the phrase "unqualified renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy." Even in the United States there is the widest possible divergence of opinion as to what the Secretary means by these words. My friend John Haynes Holmes, an enthusiastic outlawrist, has interpreted Mr. Kellogg's offer as follows:

Now comes an end to compromise. No more are men proposing to clip a few twigs or lop off a few branches. It is the will of America that the ax be laid at the root of the tree. Renounce war altogether—abolish the system—disestablish the institution—proscribe all recourse to fighting for any reason, with any weapons, to any end whatsoever! Here is a real program offered by a responsible government. Unless mankind is obdurately blind and congenitally stupid the day of peace has dawned.

Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, author of *The Outlawry of War*, has offered the following interpretation:

Mr. Kellogg launched a new idea when he made his offer of a general treaty renouncing war. The idea had taken root in certain circles of American peace thinking, but was wholly new to Europe. . . . The fact that America has defined the issue between peace and war in simple unambiguous terms and has chosen peace spells the doom of war. . . . If Christ was standing among us it would be like him to say, I see Satan falling as lightning from heaven. . . . It is, we say, the natal day of peace. The peace movement has at last been born. There has been no peace movement until now.

In the effort to discover whether or not Secretary Kellogg really intends to "proscribe all recourse to fighting for any reason" and whether he has spoken "in simple unambiguous terms," let us examine his attitude toward the following questions: 1. Is the use of armed force in self defense permissible for a nation? 2. If so, what is self defense? 3. Should the use of armed force in self defense be called war? 4. What about collective self defense by a group of nations which feel unable to protect themselves without joint action? Wherein does the peace movement which has at last been born differ from the League of Nations' program with regard to these questions?

1. *Let us begin with the attitude of outlawrists toward self defense.* Does Mr. Kellogg propose to proscribe all recourse to fighting? Is he willing to give up the right of armed intervention in Nicaragua and elsewhere? Does he propose to abandon the right to use armed force in upholding the Monroe Doctrine? Is he ready to renounce all armed protection of the Panama Canal? Is he prepared to abandon the use of armed force in maintaining our rights upon the high

seas? Does the renunciation of "fighting for any reason" debar a nation from armed resistance if attacked?

It is not enough to say that Secretary Kellogg proposes to outlaw the *institution* of war and to renounce war *as an instrument of national policy*. There is no consensus of opinion as to what these phrases mean in terms of a specific program. Either he means to abandon completely the use of all armed force or else he reserves the right to use armed force under certain circumstances. The former is pure pacifism, the latter is—nobody knows what. More details are required before his meaning is clear.

The outlawry program has not usually been interpreted as a pacifist movement. Some of the chief outlawrists are absolute pacifists but most of them do not so classify themselves. If Secretary Kellogg has joined the ranks of the pacifists, the news has not yet reached us. On the contrary, explicit denial that outlawry is pacifism has been made. Dr. Morrison says: "The outlawry of war movement is not a pacifist movement. . . . The whole controversy over pacifism is neither affected nor involved in the movement to outlaw war." In the Plan for the Outlawry of War, published in *The Christian Century* on July 17, 1924, Article III, Section 2, reads: "War between nations shall be declared to be a public crime under the law of nations, but the right of self defense against actual invasion shall not be impaired." While Article III, Section 11, reads: "National armaments to be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety and reasonable international requirements." That is to say, the outlawry program not only recognizes the right of armed self defense but retains the armaments system for "international requirements." Both of these points were emphasized in my recent interview with Senator Borah, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, published in *The New York Times*, on March 25, 1928.¹

If an attack is made, said the Senator, on Belgium (or any other signatory) by one of the parties to the agreement, the resultant breach of the multilateral treaty would thereby ipso facto release the other signatories and enable them to adopt whatever measures seem most adequate under the circumstances. In other words, a violation of the treaty by one of its signatories automatically restores liberty of action to all other signatories. . . . Outlawry does not include disarmament, although it is hoped and expected that when the institution of war has been outlawed the nations will feel such a sense of security that they will no longer regard heavy armaments as necessary or desirable.

¹ We are grateful to *The New York Times* for permission to quote at length from this interview.

That this is also the position of Secretary Kellogg is revealed in the French note of March 30th. Ambassador Claudel says in this communication:

My Government likewise gathers from the declarations which Your Excellency was good enough to make to me on the first of last March the assurance that the renunciation of war, thus proclaimed, could not deprive the Signatories of the right of legitimate defense.

In response to the question as to whether or not nations will be legally entitled to use armed force in self defense after war is outlawed, Dr. Morrison in a personal letter to the writer replied:

This question presupposes that an actual attack has occurred, initiated by one nation without reciprocal responsibility on the part of the other. Such a situation does not arise under modern conditions. The question therefore is purely theoretical. As such, however, it is entitled to a theoretical answer. My answer is twofold: First, whether it is legal or not, a nation actually and wantonly attacked will, in the present state of human nature, surely resist with armed force unless it is utterly helpless. You cannot by legislation of any kind suppress the impulse of self defense, whether in the case of individuals or nations. Law, whether imposed by authority or created by voluntary treaty or contract, cannot touch the right of self defense. Secondly, if war were outlawed, it would not be illegal for a nation to defend itself against such actual and wanton attack because the attacking nation would have violated the compact by which war had been made illegal, and the attacked nation would thereby be released from its obligation under the compact. I repeat that this answer applies to a theoretical situation.

WHAT is the attitude of the League toward self defense? The signatories to the Covenant have entered into a multilateral treaty renouncing aggression against each other. Three members of the League—France, Germany, and Belgium—have, in the Locarno treaty, outlawed war among themselves, the only reservation being that one dealing with the right to use armed force against any signatory nation violating that agreement or the Covenant. The legal right of armed self defense is not questioned either by leading outlawrists or by chief exponents of the League.

2. *What is national self defense?* Who determines *when* the use of armed force by a nation is permissible? Who decides *what* methods of self defense are justifiable? Senator Borah maintains that

there is no satisfactory definition of aggression. I have spent hours trying to hit upon one and have concluded that it is impossible to discover a satisfactory formula. It seems to me, therefore, that the question of aggression and defense must be decided in the light of the particular circumstances at each time of crisis and that no satisfactory definition can be discovered in advance.

In a personal letter, Dr. Morrison expressed the following opinion on this point:

There are, of course, many conceivable alternatives to armed

force for purposes of self defense. But these depend for their full efficacy upon the existence of a real court of international law to which a nation which does not want to fight may present its case. With war outlawed, such a court would not consider the case in terms of self defense at all. There would be no place for the distinction between "aggressor" and "defender." The pertinent distinction would be that between guilty and innocent. The court would not need to ask, which nation was the aggressor, and which the defender? It would ask, which nation is guilty of breaking its pledge not to go to war? Which nation has thus violated international law? Which nation is therefore the criminal? And the court's determination of that question would be almost automatic. The subtle and elusive distinctions between aggression and defense would have nothing to do with it. The innocent nation—the nation which does not want to settle the dispute by war—will promptly file its complaint with the court asking for a judicial adjudication of the dispute. The court, exercising the affirmative jurisdiction with which it has been clothed, will summon in the other nation. If the summons is heeded, war will be averted. If the summons is not heeded, and military attack is pressed, the case will be clear. The nation which took its case to the court is innocent, the nation which refused to do so and continues to fight is the criminal nation. The innocent nation has kept its pledge and obeyed the law against war. The guilty nation has broken its pledge and violated the law of nations. The aggressor-defender antithesis is wholly irrelevant.

Please note that I have placed the responsibility for determining the guilty nation upon the *court*, not upon the League, nor upon the other nations as such. This I regard as all-important. No decision given by the League, or by a group of nations, could provide a sufficiently objective and disinterested verdict to command the focussing of world opinion against an alleged criminal nation. And besides,—and this is the nub of the matter,—the attempt by the League or any group of nations to render such a judgment would inevitably, *in a crisis involving a major power*, result in splitting the League and spreading the conflict to many if not all of its members. The attempt of any politico-military agency to determine the guilt or innocence of two nations involved in a quarrel runs the risk of spreading the havoc instead of arresting it. Only a juridical institution—a real world court—may safely assume such a responsibility.

What is the attitude of the League members toward this question? Contrary to a widespread idea, the Council does not decide when the Covenant has been violated. It merely expresses an opinion. Each member nation decides for itself whether or not a breach has occurred. This idea has been emphasized frequently in the various meetings of the Assembly, the Council and committees of the League. On October 4, 1921, the Assembly adopted resolutions which included the following significant sentence:

It is the duty of each member of the League to decide for itself whether a breach of the Covenant has been committed. . . . If the Council is of *opinion* that a state has been guilty of a breach of Covenant, the Minutes of the meeting at which that opinion is arrived at shall be immediately sent

to all Members of the League, accompanied by a statement of reasons and by an *invitation* to take action accordingly.

MOREOVER, the Council does not have the right or power to determine what measures shall be taken against a nation which is adjudged guilty by the respective members of the League, after each has made its own decision that a breach has been committed. Each member nation also decides for itself what measures it feels obliged to adopt. In its reply rejecting the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, the British Government pointed out that "under Article 16 of the Covenant, the Council can only *recommend* action, while even under Article 10 it can only *advise*." In September, 1921, the Commission of Jurists on Article 10 made a report to the Assembly which included the following paragraph:

The members are not obliged to take part in any military action. It is true that Article 16 alludes to joint military action to be organized, on the recommendation of the Council, by the several Governments concerned; but, in general, the members are not legally bound to take part in such action. . . . The Committee wishes to point out that there can be no doubt that the Council, under the terms of this Article, can only advise as to the means to be employed; it cannot impose them.

President Wilson, in the famous conference with the members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, said: "The Council of the League can only 'advise upon' the means by which the obligations of that great Article are to be given effect to. . . . Each Government is free to reject it if it please."

The Fourth Assembly voted 29 to 1 in favor of the following interpretative resolution dealing with Article 10:

It is in conformity with the spirit of Article 10 that, in the event of the Council considering it to be its duty to recommend the application of military measures in consequence of an aggression, or danger or threat of aggression, the Council shall be bound to take account, more particularly, of the geographical situation and of the special conditions of each state. It is for the Constitutional authorities of each member to decide, in reference to the obligation of preserving the independence and the integrity of the territory of members, in what degree the member is bound to assure the execution of this obligation by employment of its military forces. The recommendation made by the Council shall be regarded as being of the highest importance and shall be taken into consideration by all the members of the League with the desire to execute their engagements in good faith.

Persia was the only nation voting in the negative, while England, France, Italy, Japan, Spain, Sweden, etc., voted in the affirmative, with twenty-two nations refraining from voting. The Chairman declared the motion neither adopted nor rejected. Later action by League members, however, clearly indicates that this interpretation has been accepted by the great powers.

For example, the Locarno signatories sent a collective note to Germany in which they said that in their opinion "the obligations resulting from the said Article (16) on the members of the League must be understood to mean that each state member of the League is bound to cooperate loyally and effectively in support of the Covenant and in resistance to any act of aggression to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account." This note needs to be supplemented by the reminder that Germany has the same status as every other member of the League and accordingly has the right to decide for itself when it considers a breach of the Covenant to have been committed and what measures it feels obliged to adopt in order to fulfill its obligations under the Covenant.

After an exhaustive study of this whole question, Professor Bruce Williams, of the University of Virginia, says: "At least one general deduction may be made as a result of the evolution to date of the principles embodied in Articles 10 and 16. Although they set up general obligations of a legal nature, it is for the individual states, and not for an organ of the League, to decide when a *casus fœderis* has arisen, and furthermore, in accordance with the traditions of international law, the individual states are accorded the right to judge the scope of their obligations under these Articles."

3. *Should the use of armed force by a nation in self defense be called war?* If a signatory nation to a multilateral outlawry treaty is guilty of a gross breach of this pact, the other signatories automatically recover liberty of action. What if they use armed force in self defense? Are they waging war? There are very wide differences of opinion with regard to this question. I recently secured opinions on this point from eight competent students of international problems. They divided almost equally, half saying yes and half replying no. When I put this question to Senator Borah, he replied, "Certainly. To say otherwise is to make a distinction that is without a difference." Dr. Morrison's reply was "Yes." Mr. S. O. Levinson gave a double answer: "Yes, if reference is made to the interim period before a *universal* outlawry treaty is ratified; no, after war is universally outlawed."

It should be remembered that the outlawry program does not affect the legality of maintaining the armaments system, nor does it take away the right of a nation to use armaments in self defense. Although this program proposes to outlaw the *institution* of war, the constituent elements of the institution are not outlawed. The outlawry program does not seek to make illegal the maintenance of an army, navy, marines, Citizens' Military Training Camps, R. O. T. C. in high schools and colleges, etc. The legality of armed preparedness is unaffected by the outlawry program. Neither does the outlawry proposal, as interpreted by Senator Borah

and Dr. Morrison, take away the right of a nation to wage war against the violator of a multilateral outlawry treaty to which it is a party. Thus interpreted, all that the outlawry program proposes to outlaw is the use of war *as an instrument of national policy*, that is, to delegalize war for every purpose except actual self defense.

Is not this what Briand means by "a solemn declaration condemning recourse to war as an instrument of national policy, or in other words as a means of carrying out their own spontaneous, independent policy?" Is not this also the attitude of the Covenant of the League? The signatories to the Covenant have renounced aggression. For these signatories war of aggression is illegal. It has already been outlawed. The legal right of a member to use armed force in self defense is not involved in or affected by the Covenant. If a member nation violates the Covenant and another signatory uses armed force in resisting the violator, such resistance is called defensive war. Does not the Covenant outlaw war *as an instrument of national policy*? Instantly comes the query, what about the League wars? Does not the League recognize the legality of the war system? This leads naturally to our next point.

4. *What about collective self defense?* Suppose a signatory to a multilateral outlawry treaty violates the agreement, what action would the other signatories be justified in taking? In answer to this question, Senator Borah said:

Another important result of such a treaty, would be to enlist the support of the United States in co-operative action against any nation which is guilty of a flagrant violation of this outlawry agreement. Of course, the Government of the United States must reserve the right to decide, in the first place, whether or not the treaty has been violated, and second, what coercive measures it feels obliged to take. But it is quite inconceivable that this country would stand idly by in case of a grave breach of a multilateral treaty to which it is a party.

In response to a question as to whether the United States Government should reserve the right exclusively to decide when a breach of the treaty has occurred and what action is required, Senator Borah replied:

Of course, in such a crisis we would consult with the other signatories and take their judgment into account. But we should not bind ourselves in advance to accept their decision if it runs counter to our own conclusion.

IN response to the question as to whether or not collective armed self defense by a group of nations would be legally justifiable after war is outlawed, Dr. Morrison said:

On the theoretical assumption previously discussed, yes. . . . What practical steps should be taken under such circumstances by other nations not involved in the dispute is a matter for those nations to determine. That they would do nothing is inconceivable. Continued military action against a nation which is calling upon the court to decide its case would be equivalent to an attack upon the entire society of nations. The society of nations—I use this term in the sense of the League of Nations or in the less formal sense—would have a stake in the maintenance of the international law of peace which the criminal nation has violated, and could be depended upon to act accordingly. The attention of the whole world would be focussed on the court's decision. The public opinion of the world would have unambiguous legal grounds for taking action against a nation which has been declared a law violator, a criminal. The means through which international public opinion would operate might be financial or diplomatic, or what not. Certainly such a criminal nation would be subject to definite legal consequences in the denial of title to any territory or other property which it secured as a result of its criminality. Under the outlawry of war one of the elementary statutes of international law would surely be the denial of title to territory or other property seized by force of arms. The intelligence of the nations could be trusted to devise ample and sufficiently poignant measures against such a criminal nation to bring it back into the society of nations, without resort to the irrelevant and barbarous method of slaying its innocent men, women and children.

What is the position of the League members with regard to collective self defense? In the Council they confer together as to whether a breach of the Covenant has occurred and what measures should be adopted. Yet each signatory decides both of these questions for itself. But suppose the members of the League feel obliged to cooperate with each other in using collective armed force against a violator of the Covenant, is not the League waging war and recognizing the legality of the war system? Or, to take another illustration, suppose Great Britain and Italy, as guarantors of the Locarno treaty, come to the armed assistance of the victim of a violation of that pact, are they not waging war? The answer in both cases is in the affirmative. But wherein does action of this kind differ from "the support of the United States in cooperative action against any nation which is guilty of a flagrant violation of this outlawry agreement"? Senator Borah and Dr. Morrison, as well as most League advocates, agree that "it is quite inconceivable that a country would stand idly by in case of a grave breach of a multilateral treaty to which it is a party." And so a League war against a violator of the Covenant does not differ in principle from the collective armed action against the violator of a multilateral outlawry treaty permitted by the outlawry program.

There is, however, one important difference. The outlawry program does not provide for definite agreements in advance of a crisis which commit the signatories to collective action, whereas many members

of the League have entered into such treaties, notably at Locarno. But even with regard to this point, Senator Borah is very sympathetic toward those nations that lack the natural security afforded the United States by its geographical position and history. He went so far as to say:

It is quite likely that questions of this character will have to be considered when the proposed conference is convened to negotiate a multilateral outlawry treaty. Traditions, customs, fears, hatreds, fixed habits and institutions cannot be dispelled overnight through the necromancy of words. We must be realistic. It would be fatal to ignore the psychological aspects of the problem. For the time being it may be necessary to make concessions and to permit exposed and fearful nations to formulate plans for common action in case they are attacked.

When asked the question: "In your opinion, is it better for the peace of the world to have the Locarno treaties even with their armed guarantees than to have had no Locarno treaties at all?" Senator Borah replied:

Yes, I suppose so. In their present frame of mind certain countries probably would not have ratified these treaties if the armed guarantees had been eliminated. Nevertheless, I am convinced that security can never be achieved by defensive alliances. Certainly it would be supreme folly for the Government of the United States to bind itself to go to the armed assistance of any foreign power.

IT is of the utmost importance that the various nations should agree as to whether or not the use of armed force against the violator of a multilateral outlawry treaty by the other signatories should be called war. If such action is regarded as war then the proposed treaty does not delegalize all war. If such action is not war, what shall it be called? If the distinction between aggressive and defensive war is not sound, how shall we distinguish between the use of armed force by a violator of an outlawry treaty, on the one hand, and the use of armed force by the victims of that violation, on the other?

Let us now summarize this discussion. Armed self defense is permitted in the outlawry program and in the Covenant of the League. In both plans each nation decides for itself when a breach of the treaty has been committed and what measures it should adopt. The use of armed force against the violator of a multilateral outlawry treaty is called *war* by Senator Borah and Dr. Morrison and *defensive war* by the League adherents. Collective armed defense against a violator of a multilateral agreement is permitted in both programs. Neither plan proposes to delegalize all use of armed force by a nation. Both seek to outlaw war as an instrument of national policy, to delegalize war as a method of settling international disputes.

In response to a question as to the effect of a multilateral outlawry treaty upon the League of Nations, Senator Borah replied emphatically:

It would not interfere with the League at all. On the contrary, such an agreement would greatly strengthen the League. The prevailing war system is itself the greatest obstacle in the pathway of Geneva. With war delegalized between these great powers it would soon be possible to secure a universal treaty completely outlawing war as an instrument of policy in international affairs. Then, and only then, will the League be free to concentrate upon its constructive and beneficent functions. At present we have a network of treaties and understandings relative to peace—arbitration treaties, conciliation treaties, The Hague Tribunal, World Court, peace machinery of the League and peace machinery of Locarno. The effect of the Kellogg proposal is a solemn pledge to let all this peace machinery work. It is a solemn pledge to rely upon the peace machinery and not upon the war machinery. If we are to prevent war or reduce the chances of war, every means known, moral, educational, arbitral, legal, political, must be harnessed for the struggle.

It seems to me that there are two primary values in the kind of analysis here attempted. In the first place, it is a clear gain to realize that the differences between outlawry advocates and adherents of the League are not so great as is commonly supposed. Therefore, it ought not to be impossible to unite the peace forces of this country behind both outlawry and the League.

In the second place, attention must be called to a grave deficiency and weakness in the plans of both Kellogg and Briand. Neither lays the axe at the root of the war system. Neither proposes to delegalize all use of armaments by nations. Both schemes leave large loopholes for aggressive violence. Suppose nation A has aggressive designs against nation B. Assume that both are signatories to a multilateral outlawry treaty. What is to prevent A from deciding, as each signatory has a right to decide for itself, that it is the victim of a violation of the agreement by B, thereby recovering the legal right to use armed force against B? *As long as each nation reserves the right to use armed force in self defense and to decide for itself when it is acting in self defense, outlawry will be ineffective.* Ultimately this kind of question must be decided by the World Court of some other international tribunal.

In conclusion, I should like to make my own position clear. I believe that the outlawry of war is absolutely indispensable to its total abolition. I also believe that the League of Nations is essential to the preservation of world peace. I am convinced that the best way to make outlawry effective is for the United States to cooperate enthusiastically with the members of the League in outlawing war not merely as an instrument of national policy but in delegalizing every use of armaments by nations, and in building up international agencies through which all disputes among nations may be settled peaceably.

War as an Institution

A Review of "The Outlawry of War"

KIRBY PAGE

THE recent publication of *The Outlawry of War*,¹ by Charles Clayton Morrison, may prove to be an epoch-making event in the history of the peace movement. This book is so significant that we are not content to give it an ordinary review. It is worthy of an extended analysis, both because of the supreme importance of its main *idea* and because of the utter inadequacy of the outlawry movement.

What is the significance of outlawry? At present war is an institution—well established, respectable, legal. The world is organized for war, not for peace. The right to wage war on behalf of its honor or vital interests is regarded as one of the most sacred privileges and duties of a nation. International law does not question this right. War has the law on its side and the prestige. Warriors are objects of patriotic adoration, while pacifists are often regarded with contempt. So all-pervasive is war as an institution that peace will be an idle dream until the legal status of war is removed and it is branded as a crime under the law of nations, just as dueling and piracy have already been outlawed. The delegating of war can be achieved through a general international treaty or by a series of treaties between two or more parties whenever the nations have the will to do so.

War as an institution must be supplanted by a system of international law, administered through a world court with affirmative jurisdiction. "War cannot effectively be displaced by anything but law—not by arbitration, nor by cutting down armaments, nor by military alliances with nicely balanced power, nor by a political league of national units, by deciding disputes through diplomats, nor by regional military pacts, nor by overwhelming force concentrated at a single world center—but by law, universally recognized and embodied in a court vested with authority to apply it to international disputes."

What are the sanctions, or means of enforcing the decisions of an international court? To which Dr. Morrison replies: "In the sense in which the term is used, there are no sanctions. The outlawry of war makes no provision for a sheriff. It has no place for an 'international police' to enforce obedience on the part of sovereign nations. It wholly repudiates the appeal to war as a means of keeping the peace. It confesses without apology that it entrusts its whole enterprise of peace to the good faith of the nations who

share in it." Great reliance is also placed in the pressure of external public opinion upon any government that may be tempted to be aggressive.

The outlawry of war movement has four planks in its platform: renunciation of war as a crime by international agreement, the creation and codification of an adequate body of international law, the establishment of an authoritative world court, reliance upon the good faith of the nations and the power of public opinion. With great brilliance Dr. Morrison has developed his theme. *Outlawry is indispensable to the abolition of war.*

THERE is some danger, however, that those of us who believe in outlawry may claim too much for it. The peace movement will make a serious mistake if it concludes that the outlawry program is an adequate means of banishing aggression and violence between nations and of ushering in an era of international friendship and cooperation. While Dr. Morrison is on record as saying that he does not regard outlawry as a completely adequate program, certain advocates of this movement do look upon it as a *substitute* for other peace proposals. Indeed, the impression may easily be gained from Dr. Morrison's own words that no other measures are *really essential* except those outlined in the outlawry program. In his preface he says: "I have only desired to *complete as far as possible* my own visualization of a world from which war has been banished." The sub-title of his book is "A Constructive Policy for World Peace." Yet he deals primarily with the four aspects of outlawry enumerated above. It is highly important, therefore, that we appreciate not only the tremendous significance of outlawry, but also its serious deficiencies.

1. The first grave weakness of the outlawry program is found in its undue reliance upon juridical agencies, and its comparative neglect of political action. It is true that Dr. Morrison admits the value of international political agencies and concedes that the League may become a useful organization. But he says repeatedly that permanent international agencies of a political nature are not essential to the outlawry of war. Dr. Morrison contends that the only *prerequisite* of outlawry is the establishment of an international court with affirmative jurisdiction and the codification of international law. War must be supplanted, he says, by "an institution of peace conceived *not under politi-*

¹Published by Willett, Clark and Colby, Chicago, \$3.

cal but under juridical categories. . . . The genius of the outlawry proposal is its thorough-going juridical character, as *contrasted* with all plans for political or diplomatic associations or leagues. . . . The outlawry proposal moves *wholly* on the juridical plane. . . . The essential basis of world peace is a court of law and justice. . . . American political relationships with Europe should be only *ad hoc*, where her interests are clearly involved or her duty unmistakable. Her covenant relationship to Europe and the rest of the world should rest upon a juridical foundation *alone*." Mr. S. O. Levinson refers to "the judicial system thus established" as "a *complete* substitute" for the war system. The outlawry resolution introduced in the Senate by Mr. Borah provides for the creation of judicial agencies but is completely silent concerning international political action.

Further discussion of the League or Hague Court, says Dr. Morrison, is "an uncongenial and sterile exercise. . . . The cause of world peace now urgently requires the complete detachment of the peace goal from the League system. . . . The League Court is not good for peace at all. . . . War may be gotten rid of without America's joining the League; indeed, America's joining the League may wisely be deferred until the League or the nations in the League join with the United States in doing something fundamental about war." Joining the League or the Permanent Court of International Justice is "essentially irrelevant to the outlawry of war." In an editorial Dr. Morrison speaks of the outlawry movement as "a constructive rival to the League."

A judicial system is inadequate for the simple reason that courts deal only with legal matters, whereas many of the most serious disputes between nations are political in character. The proposal to remedy this defect by the codification of international law looks in the right direction but offers little hope for immediate relief. Even if existing international law should be codified, it would cover only a small proportion of the subjects under dispute between nations. An international conference of jurists and statesmen could make a notable contribution by creating new laws, subject to ratification by their respective governments. But it is wholly improbable that within the next decade or two a sufficiently comprehensive body of international law can be created so that nothing but a world court will be required to settle peaceably all disputes arising between nations. Agencies of conciliation, arbitration and political coöperation are just as urgently needed as are judicial bodies and for a long time to come will be called upon to deal with the most menacing international controversies. Legislation and administration are just as essential as adjudication. Political bodies are the source of most laws and are required for the administration of judicial decisions.

Political bodies like the League of Nations and International Labor Office are indispensable to world peace. These agencies as constituted at present are admittedly inadequate and in some respects are dangerous. Drastic changes in their spirit and structure are required but the fact remains that international political agencies are just as sorely needed as are international courts. The Supreme Court of the United States could not have functioned effectually without the legislative and executive branches of the government. Nations will not abandon the use of violence until adequate machinery is available through which they can maintain security and justice. To this end, international legislation, administration and adjudication are all essential.

If it is true that an international court alone is a prerequisite to outlawry, it is also true that not even a court is essential. The various powers could enter into an international agreement declaring war to be a crime without making any provision whatever for the settlement of disputes that may arise between them. They could do this, but they will not. They could outlaw war after having provided for juridical agencies alone, but it is highly improbable that they will do so. An international court is indispensable. And so are permanent political agencies. If the former is essential to outlawry, so are the latter.

2. The second inadequacy of the outlawry program is that the delegating of war, taking it out of the law, will not necessarily insure world peace. The former is only a step in the direction of the latter. Dr. Morrison would readily admit this. It seems to me, however, that he greatly overestimates the significance of outlawry. Advocates of outlawry are fond of referring to dueling and piracy as precedents. Mr. Levinson, for example, says: "Finally, the simple discovery was made that the way to get rid of dueling was to condemn it by law,—to call it by its right name, murder, and thus to outlaw it. Thereupon, dueling as an institution ceased and codes of dueling became museum exhibits." Mr. Levinson seems to overlook the fact that in such countries as France, England, and Germany dueling continued for nearly three hundred years after it became illegal. In France dueling became a capital crime, punishable with death, as early as 1602. Yet within the following decade two thousand nobles were killed in affairs of honor. One authority tells us that "the private duel, though much practised during the mediaeval period of English history, was never legalized, and was denounced and prohibited by a royal edict of James I in 1613 and by a decree of the Star Chamber in 1614." Yet dueling survived in England until the middle of the last century. Most Americans are tempted to claim too much for law and to lean too heavily upon it. My own opinion is that war can never be abolished until it is outlawed, but that its

outlawry will not necessarily abolish aggression and violence between nations.

Most supporters of the outlawry movement are completely silent concerning ways and means of dealing with injustice and aggression after war has been declared illegal. Dr. Morrison relies exclusively upon two sanctions—the good faith of the respective nations and the power of public opinion—and no one else has stated the case for them with such persuasiveness and brilliance. But suppose they fail to secure justice and peace? then what? The chief advocates of outlawry give an astounding answer. The draft treaty formulated by Mr. Levinson says: "The question of genuine self-defense, with nations as with individuals, is *not involved in or affected by* this treaty." While Dr. Morrison says: "Outlawry absolutely has no point of contact with the question of the right of self defense." Moreover, many outlawry proponents refuse to discuss the difference between aggressive and defensive wars and regard all efforts to define aggression as a fruitless, if not actually perilous, undertaking. "The concept of 'aggressive' war," says Dr. Morrison in a recent editorial, "and the attempts to identify 'aggressor' which have been put forward by sincere peace advocates, have done more to render opaque the idea of outlawing war than any other single factor." And elsewhere: "There is no way by which an impartial tribunal can justly determine where the guilt of aggression lies."

The question of self-defense may be irrelevant to outlawry but it is at the very heart of the problem of abolishing international violence. Any proposal that ignores the question of self-defense and discourages any attempt to define aggression is utterly inadequate to insure the peace of the world. In the first place such a proposal will never be adopted by the nations, dominated as they are by the fear of attack; and second, even if adopted, it would be insufficient to guard against unprovoked aggression.

The two sanctions upon which Dr. Morrison relies are certainly the most powerful available, but they need to be supplemented. Unfortunately, the rank and file of people are not in control of foreign offices. Moreover, public opinion in all countries is uninformed, prejudiced and exceedingly fickle. Furthermore, no adequate mechanism is available through which world opinion can be quickly crystallized and focussed. I am convinced that for a long time to come the good faith of any given people and the power of public opinion will need to be supplemented by external pressure of a diplomatic or financial character (not by armed force or by an economic blockade). Does anyone believe, for example, that the aggressive designs of Mussolini could be checked merely by the good faith of the Italian people and the power of public opinion? Or that Syria can be protected from

French imperialists by reliance on these alone? It seems to me that international pressure is indispensable to the preservation of peace and the maintenance of justice. For this purpose continuous international coöperation, functioning through permanent political agencies, is essential. While the League, for example, does not furnish any final guarantee against aggression, if the member-nations should agree in advance to sever all diplomatic relations, to institute a financial embargo, and if necessary, a partial economic boycott against the aggressor, the knowledge of this fact would act as a powerful deterrent.

If any coöperative action is to be taken against an aggressor, obviously it will be necessary to define aggression. While no perfect definition is available, adequate tests can be applied. Refusal to wait for an international inquiry, refusal to accept conciliation, arbitration, judicial decision or other peaceable methods, crossing a demilitarized or neutral zone, opening fire or any overt attack—these are hints as to what must be included in a definition of aggression. Both definition of and predetermined means of resisting aggression are absolutely necessary if the nations are to consent to outlawry and to refrain from violence.

The neutrality of the outlawry program concerning means of defense in case of actual attack seems dangerous to me, not only because it fails to afford adequate security but also because it leaves unchallenged the policy of armed defense. As long as nations rely upon military and naval units for protection, insecurity will be perpetuated. Dr. Morrison doubtless assumes that when war is outlawed, nations will disarm. This is probably a valid expectation but it is not likely to be realized within the near future. In the meantime it is necessary to continue the campaign of education not only against the *institution* of war but also against the entire policy of reliance upon violence for security and justice. "The outlawry of war movement is not a pacifist movement," says Dr. Morrison. This is one of the chief reasons why its program is inadequate. Groups like the Friends have an indispensable part to play in abolishing war. Outlawry must be supplemented and undergirded in the respective countries by a substantial body of public opinion which utterly repudiates the philosophy of violence in international relations.

3. In the third place, the outlawry program is inadequate because it makes no provision for the removal of the causes of war. Indeed, many of its advocates regard such a suggestion not only as irrelevant but misleading. Dr. Morrison is of the opinion that "the most important 'cause' of war is war itself." The peace movement should "deal directly with war and with nothing else." While Mr. Levinson says: "As a matter of fact, it is impracticable to get rid of the causes of war and no substantial progress has ever been made

in that regard. . . . Not a single, solitary cause of dueling has ever been removed to this day. More than that, not a solitary cause of dueling can ever be removed until human nature is utterly transformed from what we know it to be." This is only partially true. *The chief cause of dueling was an artificial sense of honor.* Duels continued as long as men thought there was no other way to defend their honor save by challenge to mortal combat. For the peace movement to concentrate exclusively on outlawry and ignore the causes of hostility between nations would be fatal. As a matter of fact, nations simply will not abandon the war system until drastic changes are made in the prevailing conception of national interest, national sovereignty, national honor, and national patriotism. As long as the rank and file of the people continue to believe that the supreme obligation of a nation is to advance its own interests, that it has the sovereign right to choose its own policies without regard to the wishes or interests of other nations, that it must be ready to avenge insults to its flag by killing citizens of the offending country, and that it is the duty of the citizen to support his government, whether it is right

or wrong—just so long will the people of the earth slay each other, outlawry or no outlawry.

It is highly important that we distinguish between outlawry as an idea and as a movement. The *idea* of delegating war is the freshest and most vital one that has occurred to any advocate of peace during recent decades and must be incorporated in any program that is adequate to abolish war. The American outlawry movement, however, has relied too heavily on juridical measures and has frequently been hostile to the League of Nations and opposed to the participation of the United States in the activities of permanent political bodies.

My conclusion then is that Dr. Morrison has written a great book—a great book that may possibly prove to be a dangerous book: great, because of the brilliance of his exposition of a supremely important central idea; dangerous, if it should create indifference or hostility to the early participation of the United States in permanent international agencies of a political nature, and if it should cause the peace forces to conclude that the program of the outlawry movement is adequate to maintain the peace of the world.

Dr. Morrison Replies

THE editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW has been more than generous not only in inviting me to comment on his review of my book but, by his insistence, overcoming my reluctance to do so. I feel that a book into which one has put much labor and one's best thought should be competent to stand on its own feet; and if not, that its author should willingly allow it to go down under the attacks of its critics. More, therefore, to satisfy Mr. Page's desire to be fair than my own impulse to come to the defense of my thesis, I offer the following brief comments on the foregoing review.

I

There is not a sentence in the entire book which, taken in its context, justifies the charge that I ignore the necessity of other than juridical processes in meeting international problems. On the contrary, my book repeatedly expresses my conviction that non-juridical processes such as conciliation, arbitration, conference, reduction of armaments, political cooperation, are not only necessary but that they cannot function effectively until the nations renounce the war system as an institution for the settlement of their disputes. Given the outlawry of war, I cannot imagine a single non-juridical agency which Mr. Page would approve which I would not approve. The thesis of my book is that such agencies promise no security against war while the

nations cling to the war system. They cannot hope to abolish war with the right hand while they hold to it with the left.

As to the League, Mr. Page's words will wholly mislead those who read his review but do not read the book. I make a sharp distinction in the book which is not reflected at all in his review. The essence of the League, I insist repeatedly, lies in the *obligations*—what Mr. Wilson rightly called "the heart of the covenant." The obligations *are* the League. There is no important debate on any of the marginal features of the organization. Nowhere do I compare the outlawry proposal with the conciliation function or the arbitration function or the conference function or any other function of the League, but only with the *obligations* assumed by the signatories as the means achieving peace. When I say "League" in such a context I mean these obligations, Articles X, XVI, and the rest. And in so doing I do not set up my own interpretation of these obligations, but I adopt that of the eminent advocate of the League, a former Justice of our Supreme Court, Mr. John H. Clark.

If my reviewer read the paragraph on page 248, I cannot understand how he could fabricate so gratuitously the tissue of quotations which in his rendering imputes to me a view the exact opposite of that which my book maintains. Let me quote from that paragraph:

never property rights. No property has any right whatever over a man's right to life.

And liberty—the big thing we boast about and threaten to die for—liberty is a mirage unless it is to a man the guarantee inalienable of access to the means of life—property. Hence the liberty of man, not the liberty of property.

And if it will not expose me to liability of arrest to quote the Declaration of Independence, it is the first function of government to guarantee to every last and least citizen "the right to life and liberty"—perfectly meaningless glittering generalities unless government guarantees the man such access.

Thus property is made for man. Man is not in any sense made for property, or property uses. To make man the mere creature or victim of property values, property uses, or property profits—that is the supreme blasphemy. That is our vulgar infidelity. That is anti-Christ.

Herein is the only ground of defence of private property. What the feathers are to the bird, or the hoof to the horse, some measure, more or less, of private property for use is to every human being—his proprium. He cannot live like a beast of prey. He cannot forage. Society must guarantee him his proprietary rights.

By the process of competition for property, and through privilege and monopoly under a system in which law and conscience glorify rather than restrain the instinct for gain and power, the vast "property" of modern society is now in the hands of an economic oligarchy. And hence, forth come the law and the sooth-sayers everywhere with large and hypnotic words about "property rights" in order to sanction all the unearned holdings—to sanction still further the reduction of the people to propertyless vagabonds, utterly dependent on the oligarchy for life and labor. Whereas the truth is that the whole property of civilization has not a right in the world.

And the most absolutely fundamental first thing, that ought to be done at once in the world by church and school and state, is to readjust our economic structure so that the last and least human being beneath the flag shall be guaranteed "access to the means of life." And thereby make secure by law and custom and conscience "a man's right to property."

Have you ever seen a Ford? Be careful how you use the English language. It might reduce you and your children to slavery.

The Changing Attitude

Toward the Control of Property

KIRBY PAGE

FOR more than two hundred and fifty years after the coming of the Pilgrim Fathers, free land or cheap land was available in the United States. Hundreds of millions of acres were given away outright by the government or sold for a mere song. It is only within the last two decades that cheap productive land has been scarce. It is important to remember that when the Constitution of the United States was written there was an abundance of land for everybody. Down to the last quarter century there was relatively little overcrowding, except in a few great cities.

During this period when our laws concerning property were being made, the dominant social philosophy was that of extreme individualism. The doctrine of *laissez faire*—the good of all can best be served by each person seeking his own good—was almost universally accepted. Enlightened self-interest was depended upon to advance social welfare. The government that governed least governed best. Protection of property, not control of property, was the function of government.

Conditions today are, of course, vastly different. Free land is no longer available. Cheap land is rapidly passing. Industry has passed from the stage of the handcraftsman in the home or small shop to the reign of machine production in great factories. An ever increasing amount of capital is necessary in agriculture and industry. The dominance of the theory of extreme individualism and the presence of vast undeveloped resources throughout the past century have made it possible for a small group of persons, by ability, good

fortune or dishonest means, to come into possession of huge holdings of property. Today whole industries are dominated by small groups of property owners. Concentration of ownership is especially conspicuous in mining, steel, oil, railways, timber, meat packing.

During the period when land was plentiful and easily obtainable, there was little need for social control. Likewise, when industry was carried on in small units under the personal direction of the owner, there was little danger to the general welfare from individual control. In fact, any considerable degree of social control of property under such circumstances probably would have been detrimental to the common good.

The prevalence of cheap land and the dominance of handicraft industry have passed and will probably never return in the United States. Today there is not enough land to go around. This means that the holding of large areas of land by small groups deprives other persons of any land at all. The control of land now means the control of human lives. The same is true in industry. The ownership of factories and the means of production are concentrated in the hands of the few. The units of production are growing larger and larger and require an increasing amount of capital. Fewer and fewer workers own the tools by means of which they earn their livelihood. They are dependent on others for the opportunity to work. Consequently, the ownership of factories and other means of production has come to mean power over the lives of persons. In the phraseology

of Professor Hobhouse, "property for use" is rapidly being transformed into "property for power."

PUBLIC CONTROL

Changed conditions have brought about a new attitude toward the control of property. Today no individual has absolute control over his own land or factory. A network of rules and regulations for the protection of health and comfort has grown up. In many communities there are detailed regulations as to the type and size of buildings that may be erected, in others, obnoxious establishments such as slaughter houses, glue factories, boiler works, etc., are prohibited; in others, all mercantile establishments are prohibited. Within a factory, the owner is under obligations to follow a multitude of regulations concerning lighting, heating, ventilation, sanitary provisions, safety devices and precautions against fire. Sixty pages of a recent book are devoted to a description of legal measures for the protection of workers which must be adhered to by owners of factories and workshops.

The various State Industrial Commissions exercise a considerable degree of control over working conditions in various factories and plants. The minimum wage laws which are in force in twelve states are another form of social control of property, as are also the restrictions as to child labor and night work for women. The so-called rent laws in New York State reveal a new attitude toward property. Under these laws the owner is restricted as to the amount of rent which he may charge. Certain obligations are placed upon owners with regard to heat and the upkeep of apartments. The right of owners to dispossess tenants is also restricted.

Owners of certain kinds of property now possess a limited degree of control. This is true of the property classified as public utilities, and includes steam and electric railways, water transportation lines, express service, telegraph and telephone, light, heat, power and public water supply. Various types of public utility commissions fix the rates of payment for such services, determine the grade of service given, and provide for safety measures and working conditions.

In the case of the railways two public bodies exercise a considerable degree of control over the property. The Interstate Commerce Commission has power to fix rates and to compel the installation of safety appliances. The Railroad Labor Board does not possess the same degree of power over wages that the Interstate Commerce Commission has over rates but it does have considerable power in this field, even though it is compelled to rely upon public opinion for the enforcement of its wages decisions. Thus it is that the owners of railway property do not have the power to determine passenger and freight rates, nor to set wages without regard to the wishes of the unions of railway employees and the Railroad Labor Board.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

Another means of social control of property is public ownership and operation. The extent of public ownership of property in the United States is not generally recognized. In his annual report for 1921, the Secretary of the Interior stated that 400 million acres of land remain in the Public Domain of the United States and that this contains potential wealth estimated at 150 billion dollars. Details of this estimate included: 110 billion tons of coal, all grades; 1325

million barrels of crude oil; 50 billion barrels of shale oil; 20 million tons of potash; 4 billion tons of phosphate rock; 15 million water-horse-power; 75 million acres of grazing lands, 100 million acres of semi-arid and desert lands, and 110 million acres of grazing lands in national forests; timberlands valued at 580 million dollars.

The value of buildings and other property in the United States owned by national, state, county and municipal governments runs into hundreds of millions of dollars and includes the following: Capitols, court houses, city halls, official mansions, fire stations, police stations, postoffices, customs houses, armories, hospitals, asylums, homes for dependents, baths, schools, colleges, universities, libraries, art galleries, museums, parks, playgrounds, botanical gardens, cemeteries, agricultural farms, live stock, machinery, grain elevators, cold storage, bridges, ferries, steamships, docks, markets, gas works, electric plants, water works, bus lines, street railways, the Alaskan Railway. One of the largest publishing houses in the world is owned by the United States Government. From it are issued two daily publications, five weeklies, and seven monthlies, as well as hundreds of volumes annually. There is an increasing conviction throughout the United States that sooner or later the protection of public interests will necessitate the public ownership of coal mines, railways, telegraph and telephone lines.

Considered in the aggregate the amount of property which is publicly owned in the United States is enormous. And yet there is relatively less public ownership in the United States than in almost any large, civilized country. In addition to the types of public property listed above, the following varieties of property are owned by national, state, or municipal governments in various parts of the world: coal mines, natural gas, oil wells, quarries, hydro-electric energy, woolen mills, clothing factories, abattoirs, meat markets, fish markets, vineyards, tobacco, bakeries, flour mills, dairies, banks, dwelling houses, brick works, steel works, cables, diamond mines, etc.

EMPLOYEES' REPRESENTATION

Not only is social control exercised through public ownership and legal restrictions as to the use of property, but the workers in a given factory or plant are demanding and receiving an increasing voice in determining the conditions of their work. The old idea that an employer has the right to run his business the way he wants to, irrespective of the wishes of his employees, is rapidly passing. There are many forms of employees' representation and many degrees of power given to workers in the determination of policies that affect working conditions.

It seems probable that within the next few years the workers will receive an increasing share in determining working conditions. The growth of huge corporations and the concentration of ownership and control of property, have made inevitable the organization of the workers. It seems certain that this tendency will increase and that organized labor will be granted greater power and responsibility. The factory owner of tomorrow is likely to have less arbitrary control of property than is true today.

THE COÖPERATIVE MOVEMENT

In addition to public ownership and control of property and the increasing power of workers within the factory or plant, there are several other types of social control of prop-

erty. One of the most important of these is the coöperative movement, sometimes known as consumers' coöperation. The primary purpose of the coöperative movement is the elimination of middle men, getting products into the hands of the consumer direct from the producer.

The most successful kind of consumers' coöperation is that known as the Rochdale plan, so-called because it was first adopted by a group of poor weavers in Rochdale, England. The initial capital for a coöperative store is secured by voluntary subscriptions for stock. Democratic control is insured by reason of the fact that each member is entitled to only one vote, regardless of the amount of stock held. The minimum rate of interest is paid on invested capital. Goods are sold for cash at the current market price. At the end of the year the surplus-savings, or profits, are used for the common social good of the members or distributed as savings-returns in proportion to purchases.

The movement has now spread to all civilized countries and includes retail and wholesale stores, manufacturing plants, agricultural production, and means of transportation. It is estimated that about 30 million families are now represented in the international coöperative movement. In the British Isles especially the movement has assumed huge dimensions. There are more than 1,400 societies, with more than four million members, and 187,000 employees, with an annual sale for factories, wholesale and retail stores of approximately a billion and a half dollars, and an annual net surplus of 100 million dollars to be divided among the members. The Coöperative Wholesale Societies own 10,000 acres of Canadian wheat land, 17,000 acres of tea plantations in Ceylon and India, and 12,400 acres in England, in addition to many manufacturing concerns.

The movement in the United States has developed slowly. Within the past three years, however, there has been a marked increase in the number of coöperative stores. The Rochdale coöperative movement in the United States has been severely handicapped by reason of the existence of several movements which advertised themselves as coöperative movements, when in reality they were conducted primarily for the profit of the promoters. A number of these "fake" coöperative schemes have failed and this has tended to discredit the whole idea of consumers' coöperation. Long experience in many countries, however, has demonstrated that the coöperative movement can be carried on successfully if the Rochdale principles are followed.

In the United States there has been a considerable volume of coöperative marketing among farmers, fruit growers and dairymen. There are some 15,000 such organizations, with an annual volume of business amounting to one and a half billion dollars.

A beginning has been made in coöperative banking in the United States. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has established a coöperative bank in Cleveland, capitalized at \$1,000,000. Its first year of business has been most successful. It is the hope of the founders of this bank that other coöperative banks may be started in the United States and that they will become associated with the 38,000 coöperative banks which are now in existence throughout the world.

An interesting experiment in the social control of property is being made by the National Building Guild in England.

The fundamental purpose of the Building Guild is to erect houses without the necessity of providing private profit for the contractor. It is based upon the trade union movement. The minimum rate of interest is paid for needed capital. The managers, foremen and workers are paid regular salaries or wages.

THE BUILDING GUILD; ITS CHARACTERISTICS

There are three distinctive characteristics of the Building Guild. First, the building of houses is regarded as a form of public service and the workers are appealed to on this basis. The wages of the workers do not depend on the quality or the amount of work done. For the motive of self-gain is substituted the motive of public service.

Second, the Building Guild is democratically controlled. On each job the workers are organized and, as a rule, choose their own foremen. The local Guild Committee is made up of representatives of the various trade unions represented in the building of houses. Provision is also made for representation of technical and administrative groups. This makes possible the coöperation of all types of workers by hand and brain required in building houses. The regional and national organization is based upon the local organization. In all of its activities the Building Guild is strictly self-governing.

Third, a greater degree of security is afforded to workers on a Guild job. The worker's pay goes on during periods of bad weather, holidays, sickness and accidents. In other words, the policy which has long been followed of paying regular salaries to brain workers is being applied to workers by hand.

Sufficient time has not yet elapsed since the beginning of this experiment to determine the extent of its success or failure. Mr. Ernest Selley was requested by the periodical "Garden Cities and Town-Planning" to make an investigation of Guild jobs. His report was published in the June, 1921, issue, and was based upon a study of five Guild jobs in London and Manchester, the contracts of which called for 986 houses. Mr. Selley summarized his report in these words:

"(1) The Guilds have proved that they are organized on business-like lines and are able to carry out building operations in a workmanlike manner. (2) The quality of the work produced is distinctly above the average. (3) The weight of evidence goes to show that the output per man on Guild contracts is as good as that obtained by the best private contractors, and certainly higher than most. (4) It is not yet possible to make any definite statement as to comparative building costs, but, from the evidence obtained, there is ground for believing that the cost of building on Guild contracts is likely to be lower than the average costs in the districts where the Guilds are operating."

The present writer had the privilege last summer of visiting the largest of the Guild jobs at Walthamstow, near London, where the contract calls for the erection of four hundred houses. The Supervising Engineer of the Walthamstow District Council, for whom the houses are being erected, strongly expressed the opinion that the men work more willingly and heartily, the quality of work is higher, and building costs are lower than on private contracts.

The guiding spirit behind this "self-governing democracy

of organized public service," is Malcolm Sparkes, an experienced building contractor and Christian idealist. The success of the Building Guild* will be watched with intense interest by those people everywhere who believe in production for social use rather than for private gain.

THE OUTLOOK

Some persons view with alarm the steady increase in social control of property; others find great satisfaction in this growth. But whether we look with favor or disfavor upon this tendency, there can be little question that during the coming decades we shall witness an increasing degree of social control of property. This seems to be inevitable. The growth in population and consequent shortage of land, the increasing size of manufacturing plants and consequent de-

crease in the number of persons who own their own tools, combine to give property owners power over human lives. This growth of "property for power" is accompanied by the spread of education and democratic ideas, with the consequent revolt of the workers against an inferior status and the demand for equality of opportunity and an equitable distribution of the advantages and privileges of life. The simultaneous advance of the concentration of wealth and the spread of education and democratic ideas can have only one result—an increasing degree of social control of property. The only possible way to avoid this result is to end popular education and discredit democracy. Otherwise, we can count on a steady advance of the idea: Property was made for man, not man for property.

Revolutionary Movements

What They Have In Common

A. J. MUSTE

THE present number of the WORLD TOMORROW is devoted to the discussion of Property Power and its effect on human life. This article is to discuss the revolutionary movements that are seeking to supplant Property Power as it exists today.

What do men mean by the word "revolutionary"? Any definition that may be given will be approximate and suggestive rather than comprehensive and final, as must be the case with the definition of all important words. No two people will associate the same thought-content with any given word. We know how often one who deems himself a flaming revolutionist may be denounced as a "reformist" by another. However, we attempt a definition.

The revolutionary is one who recognizes that the concentration of Property Power, of the ownership of the main sources and tools of production, in private hands—and in the last analysis very few hands—is the fundamental economic fact in our life today; who desires to change radically this economic system together with the legal, political, social and religious institutions and ways of life bound up with it; and who believes that now is the time to work earnestly for such a change.

When one comes to name the movements to which this definition may apply, and about which also the man in the street feels that there is something radical though he may be unable to define why, there seems to be a bewildering array of them. There are of course the Bolsheviki in Russia and Communist parties in other countries. There are labor parties such as the British Labor Party not having so definite and dogmatic a philosophy as the Socialists, but proposing quite as fundamental political and economic changes in their programs. There are mild and scholarly (usually) single-taxers. And a growing number of peasant and farmer organizations in various countries standing for drastic measures.

No country in which any machine industry exists is to-

day without some unions of workers which openly state that they seek not a more comfortable place for the worker in the present order but a new order. And it has been cogently argued that even the conservative unions, vehemently as they may deny it, are essentially revolutionary; they exist to "improve the conditions of the worker," but at what point short of freedom is the worker with such an instrument as unionism at his command likely to stop?

The program of the coöperative societies is such that if carried through as coöperators desire, changes that can only be described as revolutionary would be brought about. There are numerous intellectuals, in many instances perhaps not attached to any political party or labor union, whose thinking and experimenting along many lines, including that of sex-relations, are part of the revolutionary movement. A numerous and influential group is going to the root of things in the field of education. Still others have a primarily religious approach and seek fundamental changes—in many cases such as Tolstoi and Gandhi by strictly non-violent methods—because they believe that the present order is not such as the Eternal Spirit can regard with approval.

Now in practice the various movements that we have mentioned often do not coöperate with each other, not seldom regard each other with suspicion, sometimes fight each other bitterly. Their methods at least seem to be as far apart as the poles. Is there, as a matter of fact, anything of importance that these movements have in common except dissatisfaction with what is and perhaps some phrases about what ought to be which may be hinting at the same thing? What has the Bolshevik who frankly declares that we must not be afraid to be barbarous in combating barbarism, who employs the Revolutionary Tribunal, in common with Gandhi, who would have men rely solely on love, "soul-force," and who fasts when his followers under provocation commit an act of violence? What is there in common between a member of the I. W. W. and a typical single-taxer? Or between a sex-radical and the Christian

* Detailed information concerning the Building Guild may be secured from Malcolm Sparkes, Esq., 52 Russell Square, London, W. C. 1, England.

How Can We Stop the Next War Now?

Now That the Washington Conference is Over—What Next?

Kirby Page

Author of "The Sword and the Cross," discusses one of the liveliest themes of the hour, the Washington Conference, its successes and failures—the deadly enemies to be faced. Fear and Pride. Shall the Sword or the Cross win?

THIS conference has wrought a truly great achievement. The faith plighted here to-day, kept in national honor, will mark the beginning of a new and better epoch in human progress." This is the opinion of President Harding concerning the results of the Washington Conference. Mr. Hughes had previously said: "This treaty ends, absolutely ends, the race in competition in naval armament. We are taking perhaps the greatest forward step to establish the reign of peace." A little while before Mr. Lloyd-George had said: "The Washington Conference is establishing peace in the great West." Another observer in referring to the conference said: "It is the greatest event since the beginning of the Christian era."

What is the basis of such optimistic statements as these? What are the actual accomplishments of the conference? To what extent has it been a success? What are the causes of its failures? What is the next step in abolishing war?

There can be no question but that important results have come from the conference. The agreement to end the suicidal race in armaments and to scrap many existing warships is of extraordinary importance. The restriction against the use of poison gas is certainly a step in the right direction. The agreement reached with reference to the use of submarines will, if adhered to, make impossible a repetition of such atrocities against passengers on the high seas as were common during the great war.

Many of the wrongs against China are being remedied and the nations are adopting a new attitude toward her. A number of points of friction between the United States and Japan have been removed. Friendship between the English-speaking peoples has been deepened. The preservation of the peace is now an avowed object of the nations. Definite agreements are replacing the old idea of alliances. Precedents have been established which will be of incalculable value in future conferences. A long step has been taken toward a real federation of the nations.

The conference has been of enormous educational value. It has helped to reveal the different peoples to each other. It has shown the interdependence of nations and has emphasized the importance of increasing the number of persons in all countries who possess the "international mind."

Failure and Success

The conference also has conspicuous failures. The attitudes

of the French and Japanese Governments on several vital points have produced profound disappointment. The breach between France and England has widened. Siberia and Manchuria remain as sure causes of trouble in the future. There are still festering sores in Shantung. Only partial restitution has been made for past crimes against China. The attitude of Japan toward China still constitutes a grave menace. The naval agreement leaves each of the powers with a large and effective navy. The submarine has not been outlawed, but merely restricted in its operations. Even a beginning has not been made in dealing with the all-important question of the limitation of land forces. The crowning failure of the conference is that not a word has been said in advocacy of the immediate abolition of war itself.

A prominent editorial writer has expressed the opinion that the conference "has accomplished perhaps thirty per cent of its program." Even the warmest friends of the conference admit that there have been large areas of failure.

Now that the conference has ended the general tendency will undoubtedly be to cease thinking and talking about the subjects with which it dealt. This will not be the part of wisdom. We should begin immediately to examine the causes of the failures of the conference and to take steps to avoid such failures in the future.

Deadliness of Fear and Pride

An analysis of the failures of the Washington Conference reveals the fact that fear was a predominant obstacle in the pathway to complete success. The nations are desperately afraid of each other. Another obstacle was the extreme complexity of the problems confronted and the great difficulty, even with the best of intentions, in reaching satisfactory conclusions. False pride and national selfishness were important factors. Then, too, the past sins of nations had to be reckoned with. Not least of the difficulties was to break with the traditional manner of conducting international conferences. The extreme fear of France, due to repeated in-

vasions, and Japan's need of new territory for expansion were especially serious obstacles.

The chief cause of the failures of the conference, however, was the general attitude of the peoples of the earth. The delegates were prevented by public opinion in the various countries from seeking the immediate outlawing of war itself. The nations are not yet ready to place the ban on war. This is true in spite of our extended experience with the horrible realities of

GOOD OMENS CONCERNING CENTENARY COLLECTIONS

R. J. Wade, Corresponding Secretary, Committee on Conservation and Advance

On my return from annual conference visitation in the South, the latter part of January, I found that the Christmas Offering for the Needy Children of the World had reached \$100,000. Since then this amount has been increased. And not all our churches and Sunday Schools have been heard from.

In the South a most hopeful spirit concerning the Centenary prevails. Increase in collections were reported in every conference with the exception of the Florida Conference. St. John's Conference reported Centenary collections \$2,600 larger than last year. Upper Mississippi Conference and Mississippi Conference made slight increases. And the increase of the Louisiana Conference was \$11,000, an increase of seventy-seven per cent.

One year ago the Rev. W. Scott Chinn was appointed district superintendent of the Baton Rouge District of the Louisiana Conference. He adopted as a slogan for the district, "The Centenary apportionments for the year in full and the collection of all arrearages of the past two years." This appeared to be a superhuman task, but it was accomplished. This district gave \$1,248 for the conference year closing January, 1920. This year it gave \$4,380, an increase of 250 per cent.

It is doubtful whether this report has been duplicated anywhere in the church. Can it not be duplicated in many other sections with real Centenary goodwill, grit and gumption?

This conference purposes to raise another full year's quota by Easter and the example is being followed out by all the other Negro conferences of the South.

The January annual conferences have set a good pace for the other annual conferences, both spring and fall. If this record of advance is maintained by all our annual conferences, it will be a year of great rejoicing.

Have we not come to the turn in the road from the Centenary standpoint as well as in financial readjustment?

The sacrificial giving of our brethren in the South out of their poverty is almost without parallel, except on the foreign field. It ought to occasion the churches of the North in more comfortable circumstances to register nothing less than constant, consistent increases of contributions over the preceding year.

war and the knowledge that further war on a wide scale is sure to destroy modern civilization, just as previous civilizations have been destroyed.

How can we explain this reluctance of nations to abandon war as a means of defense? The answer to this question is not easy. Fear is undoubtedly the predominant element. For centuries succeeding generations have been taught from infancy to fear other nations. Undue emphasis is placed upon the faults and excesses of other people. We are told that the wicked designs of other nations can be resisted only by force of arms, that reason and kindness are futile when dealing with a nation bent upon conquest, that the only language such people can understand is that of brute force. Hence our own nation is compelled to resort to arms in order that virtue and righteousness may not perish from the earth. Under such circumstances we are assured that war is the lesser of two evils, that the end, the preservation of liberty and democracy—justifies the means—bayonets, shrapnel, poison gas, and the hunger blockade.

Then, too, there is something about war which calls forth a very high degree of heroism and sacrificial devotion. In our admiration of acts of superlative bravery and utter self-sacrifice, it is easy to forget just what such acts mean to the enemy. We are thrilled by the account of an American ace who single-handed brings down four German planes in one afternoon. We somehow fail to appreciate how great is the tragedy for the aged mother in Berlin, the sorrowing wife in Munich, and the bereaved orphans in Stuttgart.

Because often we have good cause to be afraid of the excesses of other nations, because we have placed our faith in armies and navies as the only adequate weapons of defense, because in times of extreme crisis we always feel that war is the lesser of two evils, because of the display of extraordinary bravery and sacrificial spirit shown by our men—for these and other reasons the peoples of the earth are not yet ready to place the ban on all war.

But we are uneasy. Our Christian conscience is troubled. In spite of all our elaborate arguments in defense of war, we have not fully convinced ourselves as to its effectiveness. Deep down in our hearts we know that Jesus would not have us sanction war. Somehow we cannot conceivably imagine him using a bayonet or a machine gun, or participating in a poison gas raid or a hunger blockade. If only we would admit it, we are fully convinced that war is an absolute violation of his way of life. If it were not for our fears, there is no question but that we would denounce war as sin and would have no further part in it.

Shall the Church Bless War?

We cannot but wonder if the churches have not made a tragic mistake in blessing war all these centuries. We cannot forget the long ages when the churches also sanctioned the torture of heretics, the burning of witches, the fighting of duels, the holding of slaves and other giant evils which are now universally condemned. We keep wondering if the time will ever come when war also will be placed under the ban by all Christian people. Somehow we feel that it will. When our faith is strongest, we believe that that day is not far off. We long for its approach.

How much longer must we wait? How many more millions of our choicest young men must be butchered? How often must our Lord be crucified anew? When will the churches abandon the weapons of Satan? How long, O Lord, how long?

Is not to-day the appointed day? Can there ever be a more opportune moment for the churches of America to withdraw their blessing from war? If we wait until another war is imminent, will we not be swept by passion, prejudice, and propaganda? While the terrible realities of war are still fresh in our memories, while our minds are unclouded by anger, while our wills are unshaken by fear, shall we not say, once and forever, that we will have no further part in war, that we will cease to depend upon it for protection, that we will put our trust in reason, friendship, and good-will, and that we will resolutely follow the way of the Cross?

Only God can tell how glorious would be the victory for the Kingdom if all followers of Jesus would go on record as refusing absolutely to sanction or to participate in any war, and would seek to overcome evil with good in the same courageous and sacrificial spirit heretofore manifested on the fields of battle.

The Sword or the Cross

We have our choice of two weapons, the sword or the cross. The sword means the attempt to defend the innocent by taking the life of the guilty. The cross means the willingness of the innocent to die for the guilty. For long ages humanity has chosen the sword, with the result that to-day it is in danger of perishing from the sword. Can there longer be any doubt as to the effective weapon of the Christian militant?

Down through the ages rings the challenge of the Master: "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." Is it too much to believe that still he is calling: "If any nation would come after me, let it deny itself, and take up its cross, and follow me?"

Fruitful Year in Methodist Colleges

As the Board of Education holds its fifty-third annual meeting, Mr. Dwight R. Furness lets us in upon the situation in our own Christian institutions. Finances are improving but opportunities and duties increase proportionately.

I THINK our educational colleges are better than they ever were before," said Dr. A. W. Harris, corresponding secretary of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at the annual meeting of the board, in New York, January 17-19. "And their financial administration, as far as we can judge, is better than it has ever been before. The budgets which the General Conference ordered them to prepare have in many cases been of great advantage." The value of the budget reports from the schools to the board was also pointed out by Assistant Secretary John L. Seaton, who said that for the first time in the history of Methodist education fairly complete and dependable information is on file in one central office.

Gratifying progress in religious activities among Methodist students, professors and churches at other than Methodist institutions, was reported by Assistant Secretary Warren F. Sheldon. Fully seventy churches reaching seventy-five institutions, a gain of ten during the year, have relations with this phase of the work of the board. Financial campaigns for nine educational institutions undertaken by the board's Department of Finance during the past year, resulted in net pledges of \$6,644,000, according to Counsellor in Finance J. W. Hancher. The fact that the askings of these institutions were in most cases over-subscribed shows the temper of the country to education when the appeal is properly presented. Assistant Secretary J. C. Nate reported upon evangelism in the colleges and the finding of the Council of Church Boards of Benevolence

that this is inseparably bound up with the problem of recruiting for Christian service in the college field. Dr. Allan MacRossie reported a rapid gain in the enrollment in conference courses of study and summer schools for that purpose.

Coöperation with a number of schools to aid them in solving some of their own peculiar problems was approved by the board. A representative will coöperate with the commission appointed by the conferences in the Portland and Helena Areas relative to Kimball School of Theology to study the whole educational situation in the Northwest and will also meet with the authorities of Simpson College in other matters. Coöperation with the North Dakota Conference on educational work within the state will be continued by the board.

Discussing school problems in various sections of the country, Dr. Seaton said: "Our Northern schools, due to more established methods of procedure and larger resources, need less help than do our Southern schools. The form of service most pleasant to them is our agency in presenting their appeals to the General Education Board.... The eleven schools sponsored by the Board of Education in the South, with about 4,000 students enrolled, have a current expense of about \$40,000—an amount less than the annual budget of a small church academy in the North—and they have a building appropriation of about \$60,000. At least half a million dollars annually is needed to discharge our plain duty."

The following appropriations to Southern schools were authorized:

TOLEDO MINISTERS ASSOCIATION

"Fellowship and Inspiration"
MONDAY MORNING, MAY 7, 1934-CENTRAL Y.M.C.A. 10:30.
(MEETING EXTRAORDINARY)

Hear-

REV. B. F. LAMB, D.D. SECRETARY OF OHIO COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

Dr Lamb will speak upon the subject, "Protestant Unity"

Hear-

BAUMANN, STALNAKER, REEVES-

Give a resume of the replies to Kirby Pages questionnaire,
"WAR AND ECONOMIC INJUSTICE"

H. L. V. Shinn, Pres.

C. Elmer Miller, Secty.

Toledo Pastors to Discuss Questionnaire on War Views

31 Local Ministers Oppose Military Training in Schools, 19 Vote Against Armed Strife in Replying to National Quiz.

Publication is made today of replies to a questionnaire on war and economic justice from 20,870 ministers and rabbis. The questionnaire was issued by Kirby Page, of The World Today, a religious journal published in New York.

Toledo ministers will discuss the results of the survey at a meeting of the Toledo Ministers association Monday at 10:30 A. M. in the Y. M. C. A. The Rev. B. F. Lamb, Columbus, secretary of the Ohio Council of Churches, will be the principal speaker at this meeting and his topic will be "Protestant Unity."

Thirty-one of 34 Toledo clergymen are opposed to military training in public high schools and civilian colleges, and 19 of the 34 are personally prepared to state it is their present purpose not to sanction any future war nor participate as armed combatants.

12,904 Against War

Results show 12,904 American clergymen, or 62 per cent of those replying, have declared their determination not to sanction or participate in any future war and 17,023, or 82 per cent, are opposed to military training in schools.

Among those replying from Toledo who are willing to sanction war or participate, according to the announcement of the results of the questionnaire, is Dr. Thomas W. Fessenden, pastor of St Paul's M. E. church and president of the Toledo Council of Churches.

It is the conviction of some 14,000 ministers, according to an analysis of the survey, that the churches should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support war. Approximately 16,000 favor substantial reductions in armaments even if the United States is compelled to take the initiative and make a proportionately greater reduction than other nations are yet willing to do.

Favors Arms Cut

Among those favoring substantial reductions in armaments under these conditions is Dr. Louis H. Schuh, associate pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran church. Opposed to the same proposal is the Rev. C. A. Wiederanders, pastor of St. John's Lutheran church, who comments "Preparedness is the best safeguard of peace."

Less than 2,600 of those responding favor military training in pub-

lic high schools and civilian colleges or universities, and fewer than 8,600 declare they could conscientiously serve as an official army chaplain on active duty in wartime.

Among clergymen refusing to sanction or participate in war is the Rev. Karl W. Scheuffler, of Elmore, pastor of the Elmore M. E. church, who explains that he speaks as chaplain of Post 279, department of Ohio, American Legion.

League Discussed

About 7,500 of the 20,870 clergymen who answered the questionnaire regard the distinction between defensive and aggressive war as sufficiently valid to justify sanctioning or participating in a future war of defense. A few more than 10,000 favor the immediate entrance of the United States into the League of Nations, while 15,600 believe the policy of armed intervention in other lands by the United States government to protect the lives and property of American citizens should be abandoned and protective efforts confined to pacific means.

Among those opposed to armed intervention is the Rev. A. L. Burman, pastor of St. Mark's Lutheran church.

In response to the question, "Do you favor substantial reductions in armaments even if the United States is compelled to take the initiative and make a proportionately greater reduction than other nations are yet willing to do?" 77 per cent replied yes, and only 16 per cent said no.

100,000 Issued

The query, "Do you believe that the policy of armed intervention in other lands by our government to protect the lives and property of American citizens should be abandoned and protective efforts confined to pacific means?" brought 75 per cent affirmative votes, and only 13 per cent in the negative.

The questionnaire was issued to 100,000 ministers and rabbis with the indorsement of the following group of noted churchmen: S. Parkes Cadman, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Edward L. Israel, M. Ashby Jones, William P. King, F. H. Knobel, Francis J. McConnell, John McDowell, D. P. McGeachy, Kirby Page, Daniel A. Poling and William Scarlett.

Most Toledo Clergymen Favor Socialist System

Arguments Reach Letter - Writing Stage; Definition of Words Cited

Protestant and Jewish clergymen in Toledo are preponderantly in favor of national unions of workers, instead of local company unions, in an endeavor to bring about a more equal distribution of the proceeds of industry, according to a national survey conducted by a committee of 12 religious leaders and released for publication today.

The questionnaire revealed also that 15 of the 29 Toledo clergymen who answered favor socialism as the political system which offers the most effective method of achieving a co-operative commonwealth in the United States.

Twenty-seven Toledo clergymen favor national unions, only one favors local company unions and six are in doubt, according to the survey.

The questionnaire was answered by 20,870 clergymen. It was prepared by a committee that included S. Parkes Cadman, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Edward L. Israel, M. Ashby Jones, William P. King, F. H. Knobel, Francis J. McConnell, John

McDowell, D. P. McGeachy, Kirby Page, Daniel A. Poling and William Scarlett.

The canvass showed that 16,557 clergymen, or 79 per cent of those replying, are convinced that there should be drastic limitation, through the inheritance tax, of the amount of wealth that may be inherited by an individual, and that 15,780, or 76 per cent, favor the drastic limitation through the income tax and the removal of tax-exempt sources, of the annual income that may be legally retained by an individual.

Among pastors favoring drastic income taxes is the Rev. Clarence H. LaRue, of the Monroe Street M. E. church, according to an analysis of the survey. On the same question, the Rev. Edwin C. Walley of the Deshler M. E. church, comments: "I refuse to believe that the hope of becoming millionaires actuated Pasteur, Burbank, Edison, Lincoln, or anyone else, to really constructive effort."

Favoring drastic inheritance taxes, the Rev. Kendall Bancroft Burgess of the Swanton M. E. church, writes: "There is no reason why the child of a rich man should inherit, save in trivial amounts. Each child born into the world should have, as nearly as possible, an equal start economically at least."

The results of the questionnaire show that compulsory unemployment insurance under government administration is favored by 13,218,

or 63 per cent. When asked to choose between national unions of workers and local company unions, 11,304 or 54 per cent of the clergymen selected the former and 2,567 or 12 per cent voted for company unions; those in doubt on this question numbered 5,712 and 1,287 did not indicate their preference.

The number favoring a system of private ownership of banks is 7,200, or 34 per cent, as compared with 6,974 or 33 per cent who prefer a system of socialized banking as a public service. Those in doubt and who failed to answer this question totaled 6,696. The Rev. Harlan M. Frost, pastor of Second Baptist church and recently selected as secretary of the Toledo Council of Churches, cast his vote against private ownership of banks under government regulation and in favor of a system of socialized banking as a public service.

In reply to the question: "Which economic system appears to you to be less antagonistic to and more consistent with the ideals and methods of Jesus and the noblest of the Hebrew prophets?" 1,035 selected capitalism and the American system of "rugged individualism" prevailing in the United States before 1929, and 13,324 or 88 per cent chose a co-operative commonwealth. When requested to express an opinion as to which political system offers the most effective method of achieving a co-operative commonwealth, 10,691 or 51 per cent selected drastically reformed capitalism, 5,879 or 28 per cent chose socialism, 111 preferred fascism and 123 favored communism.

Listed among pastors favoring drastically reformed capitalism are the Rev. Theodore F. Adams, pastor of Ashland Avenue Baptist church, and Dr. Grant W. Speer, pastor of Central Christian church.

CLERICS REFUSE TO SANCTION OR ENGAGE IN WAR

12,904 Out of 20,870 Jews
and Protestants De-
clare Stand

Publication Wednesday of the answers to a questionnaire sent by Kirby Page, New York, noted Christian Socialist, to 20,870 Protestant and Jewish clergymen indicated that 12,904 of the clergymen personally prepared to state it their present intention not to sanction any future war or participate in any war as an armed combatant.

The answers, which included those of several clergymen in Toledo and northwestern Ohio, also showed that 13,997 believed churches should go on record now as refusing to sanction or support an future war.

There was opposition in both instances. There were 4638 answers listed as opposing the proposition that the churches should go on record as refusing sanction and support for war while 5208 clergymen would not state that they would not sanction any future war or participate in it as an armed combatant. In both cases, about 2000 answers were listed as in doubt.

Subject of Meeting Here.

The results of these questions and others on war and peace and of a series of questions on economic questions, answers to which are to be made public by Mr. Page Thursday, probably will be one of the principal topics of discussion at a meeting of the Toledo Ministers' association Monday morning.

The question of Protestant unity probably also will come before the meeting. Rev. B. F. Lamb, Columbus, secretary of the Ohio Council of Churches of Christ, will be the principal speaker.

More than 10,100 of the pastors queried by Mr. Page favored immediate entrance of the United States into the league of nations, while 5987 opposed it and 4138 were listed as in doubt.

Oppose R. O. T. C. Plan.

More than 17,000 opposed military training in public high schools, civilian universities or colleges, while 2579 favored it and 973 were in doubt.

Substantial reductions in armaments, even if the United States has to lead the way and to make a proportionately greater cut than other nations, are favored by 15,985, while 3260 oppose such cuts and 1294 are in doubt.

A question, "Do you believe that the policy of armed intervention in other lands by our government to protect the lives and property of American citizens should be abandoned and protective efforts confined to pacific means?" brought 15,598 affirmative answers, 2728 negative answers. Listed as in doubt are 2152.

Chaplain Question Is Split.

The clergymen split almost equally on the question of whether they could conscientiously serve as official army chaplains in war time, 8534 voting affirmatively with 8014 answering negatively. Some 3700 were listed as in doubt.

There was another close split on the question of whether the distinction between "defensive" and "aggressive" war was sufficiently valid to justify clergymen in sanctioning or participating in a future "war of defense" with 8813 voting "No!" and 7517 voting "Yes." Approximately 3580 were in the "In Doubt" column.

Dr. Stockdale Quoted.

Dr. T. W. Fessenden, pastor of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal church and president of the Toledo Council of Churches of Christ, voted that he was not prepared personally to state it his present determination not to sanction any future war or to participate in that war as an armed combatant. Also in this group was Dr. Allen A. Stockdale, former pastor of the First Congregational church here and now of Washington, D. C.

Dr. Lewis H. Schuh, a pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran church, was listed among those favoring substantial reductions in armaments even if the United States is compelled to take the initiative and to make a proportionately greater reduction than other nations.

Preparedness Is Safeguard.

Rev. Carl A. Wlederanders, pastor of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran church, commented as follows on the disarmament question:

"Preparedness is the best safeguard of peace. To disarm radically in the face of huge military

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Rev. Carl A. Wiederanders, pastor of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran church, commented as follows on the disarmament question:

"Preparedness is the best safeguard of peace. To disarm radically in the face of huge military programs, shady politics and obvious sincerity of some nations would look like a fool's policy. Might as well begin at home by tearing down prisons, dismissing the police and saying to the gangster, 'Now, be a good boy!'"

Rev. Ray McClure, Methodist, of Napoleon, said in favoring the church's immediate going on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war:

"I believe that, if all churches would unite with the Quakers in this stand, war would be impossible."

In Elmore, Rev. Karl W. Scheuffler, also Methodist, answered the question as to whether he was personally prepared to state that it was his present purpose not to sanction any future war or to participate as an armed combatant by saying:

"Yes. I speak as the chaplain of Post 279, Department of Ohio, American Legion."

The reason for the close split on whether or not service as a chaplain is justifiable after the decided anti-war votes was found in the statement of a Goshen, Ind., Methodist, the Rev. Edward G. Wahl:

"Does not the condemned prisoner have the spiritual services of a chaplain? To be an official chaplain does not necessarily carry an approval of war, any more than to be an official prison chaplain carries an approval of crime."

locks Close

The Clergy and the Anti-War Spirit

Doctor Fosdick's Apology to the Unknown Soldier Is a Dramatic Display of the Feeling Which Is Sweeping the Ministerial Field, but Unanimity Is Lacking

WHEN Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick apologized to the Unknown Soldier recently it was a dramatic display of the anti-war spirit which has been sweeping the ministerial field and eddying in lay circles. If he had made such a figurative pilgrimage to Arlington seventeen years ago to apologize to the dead of other wars, he would have been labeled a coward. Most of his ministerial brothers would have said that he had a yellow stripe down his back.



Keystone
Col. J. Mayhew Wainwright

But then Doctor Fosdick wouldn't have made such an apology. Then, as he recalled the day, he "counseled soldiers before they went over the top on their murderous and suicidal task." That is, he urged Protestant soldiers to kill, maim, or otherwise disfigure Protestants on the other side of that deeply-graven line they called the Western Front. Catholic Army Chaplains did the same. They urged Catholic soldiers to go over and slay other Catholic soldiers in the name of Christ. Now Doctor Fosdick is deeply repentant of his part in the bloody work.

Both Catholics and Protestants made converts in the so-called heathen countries before the war, and now, if need be, are prepared to kill them off—an economic waste, to say the least. After the war missionaries took up the task again. Will they, if conditions become strained over trade or territory, urge their converts to shoulder arms and go out to kill the Catholics and Protestants who sent the missionaries to carry the Gospel to the outposts of Christianity? Or will they take the first ship home to fire the Catholics and Protestants there to go out and kill the Catholic and Protestant converts?

Two to Keep the Peace

Some such question may possibly arise in the minds of people who have been rather puzzled by the attitude of the Church at large. True, a large number of ministers, including former Army chaplains, have said they would take no part in any war. But there are many still doubtful as to what they would do, and there are enough others to fill up such chaplaincies as might be needed.

And, after all, it takes two to keep the

peace, as it takes two to make a quarrel. How fares the peace movement in the Old World and in Asia?

It was at a seminar in New York that Doctor Fosdick made his apology to the great Unknown. Thirty-five of the thirty-six persons present voted with five former Army chaplains in saying they would refuse to serve in another war. But in the case of a class war only twenty-nine would assent to a similar resolution. Seven reserved the right to doubt.

At another seminar more than 200 ministers of several denominations and several rabbis said they believed that church backing should be officially withdrawn from any war in which the United States might take part. In the second seminar the question of what attitude the Church should take in the event of a class war was passed over as irrelevant. The two seminars were a footnote to the questionnaire sent out by Dr.

tion, said: "I speak with a little knowledge of what war means. It is the dilemma between loyalty to Christ or loyalty to something else." To which Col. J. Mayhew Wainwright, a former officer of the Twenty-seventh Division, said: "I do not believe our Savior and Lord was a 'peace at any price' man. In any event I do not believe in a conflict of the Church with the laws of our country. . . . It is a fundamental loyalty and duty of every citizen, particularly our young citizens, to fight for the protection of the ideals and mandates of our country. It may be that enforcement of these ideals may of necessity involve force. Often, previous wrongs can not be righted without the application of force." The Colonel's position was supported by Rt. Rev. Arthur Selden Lloyd, Suffragan Bishop of New York.

Pacifists received short shrift also from the Reverend Aloysius G. J. Hogan, President of Fordham University. "If this country is good enough to live in, it is good enough to serve and defend in war, if necessary," he said in an address to a council of the Knights of Columbus. "There will never be peace and harmony among the nations until justice and mercy prevail. It is for these that we must strive. Don't pass on to some one else the responsibility. For us there is no passing of the buck."

Attitude of Press

The press as a whole adopts a more quietly reflective tone towards manifestations of pacifism than it would have used a few years ago. The Cincinnati *Enquirer* thinks that the results of the ministerial questionnaire do not constitute a threat to security. They do mean, however, "that we should not make commitments abroad which might require us to send a fleet, or an army to a foreign country, and that our Latin-American policy of non-intervention should be maintained rigidly." The *Enquirer* calls this "an intelligent pacifism which takes account of the basic necessity of defending our own soil. That is a point of view on which most persons can agree."

The Albany *Evening News* said that "if all the clergymen in the world could bring all the peoples of the world to set their hearts against war perhaps all nations could gain lasting peace. . . . The vote in New York shows the feeling of clergymen, and we wish that it might stop war. But we know that if needs be the clergymen in every land would give their aid on the side of their country. But more power to them if they can prevent war."



Keystone
Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Pastor of The Riverside Church, New York City, who regrets abetting war

Kirby Page, editor of *The World Tomorrow* (THE LITERARY DIGEST, May 5).

A day later members of the Episcopal fold in New York barred an extreme stand against war. After a heated debate the 151st convention of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York held that the pronouncement by the House of Bishops at its last meeting in Davenport, Iowa, was sufficient. This pronouncement called upon Episcopalians "to wage unrelenting war against war," and asserted that "in any issue between country and God, the clear duty of the Christian is to put obedience to God above every other loyalty."

Dr. W. Russell Bowie, speaking for the minority report urging a stronger declara-

Giant Komodo "Dragons" Come to America

Largest Living Lizards, From Dutch East Indies, Resembling Monsters of Prehistoric Times, Are Taken to New York Zoo

Three representatives of the largest living lizards, vicious and gratifyingly prehistoric in appearance, have just completed their long journey from the island of Komodo, in the Dutch East Indies, via Vancouver, B. C., to the New York Zoological Park. Tho they are common enough on Komodo, where they stalk small game and even capture deer, few of these large reptiles are in captivity elsewhere. Of the three specimens brought to New York, one will be sent later to the National Zoo in Washington.

The monsters were caught by Lawrence T. E. Griswold, of Quincy, Massachusetts, and William H. Harkness, of New York, who escorted them on their journey from Komodo. They were taken in large box traps set at the head of a valley and baited with carcasses of deer. In all, the Americans succeeded in capturing forty-three, of which the best eight were selected. Four were presented to the Dutch Government, and the other four were loaded aboard ship for the United States. One died on the long journey to America.

The three survivors range in length from seven and a half to eight and a half feet. Their technical name is *Varanus komodoensis*, but the ship's officers en route named them Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. John died. Matthew, in a moment of irritation, chewed a hole in his enameled metal water basin. The others, slightly more docile, gave evidence, nevertheless, of irritable tempers and enormous strength.

The existence of the Komodo lizards has been known only a few years. They were discovered, in 1916, by Maj. P. A. Ouwers, then director of the Buitenzorg Museum in Java. They have been reported to reach a length of thirteen feet, but Messrs. Harkness and Griswold did not succeed in capturing any of that size. Contrary to stories which have been told since the arrival of the reptiles in this country, they are not descendants of the great *Tyrannosaurus rex*, king of the saurian killers in the Age of Reptiles. *Tyrannosaurus* has left no known descendants.

Mr. Harkness, describing the native habits of the Komodo "dragon," said that the small island, with its rugged peaks and valleys covered with coarse grass and cabbage-palms, formed a perfect setting for the creatures. The reptiles prowl the valleys in search of deer and other animals, and, when they have captured one, drag

the carcass to a cave and devour it at their leisure. Mr. Harkness estimated that there are 300 or more of various sizes on the island, which is twenty-two miles long and fourteen wide.

Other attempts to place these interesting



One of the Komodo "dragons" at the Bronx Zoo, New York City

survivors of the Reptile Era in zoos in this country have proved unsuccessful. Two brought to New York in 1926 died after three months. They have been kept in Berlin and London zoos, however, for several years.

"Dry Blizzards" and Erosion

The huge dust-storm which recently swept up nearly half a billion tons of soil from the States of Nebraska and South Dakota and scattered it over the Eastern States and even on vessels far out in the Atlantic, was attributed by H. H. Bennett, Director of the Soil Erosion Service of the United States Department of the Interior, to unchecked erosion which has laid bare large areas of land in the West.

The storm probably was the result of no one cause, however. The persistent drought in the West prepared the fine silt for its aerial journey after erosion had bared it, and steady, easterly winds, accompanying a whirling cyclonic storm of moderate intensity, scattered it ocean-ward.

For distance traveled by the dust the storm did not equal some that arise in the Sahara and carry dust 2,500 miles. For volume it certainly did not equal the dust-storms which must have been of rather frequent occurrence soon after the retreat of the great glaciers. Large areas of the Middle West, where fertile farm lands now abound, are covered by layers of wind-blown soil 100 or more feet thick.

Science Snap-shots

An interesting cube of baked clay, one inch across, has been discovered in the Babylonian Collection of Yale University. Prof. Ferris J. Stephens, acting curator, announced after studying it that the object was one of the dice used by Assyrians 3,000 years ago in choosing an official for great national honors.

Films dealing with health subjects are popular in Turkey. One showing how to care for the teeth ran throughout the provinces for 1,395 days; a malaria film lasted 714 days; another, on the treatment of children, 554 days. But a picture entitled "Why Willy Won't Wash" received little encouragement and appeared only forty-five days.

Money has assumed many strange forms, according to ethnologists of the Smithsonian Institution, who have just completed a collection from all parts of the globe. The objects which have been used as money include woodpecker scalps, razor blades, shells, bright feathers, axes, spearheads, fish-hooks, blocks of salt, pressed tea or tobacco, glass bottles, whale teeth, and red hair from behind the ear of the flying fox.

Running aground in a fog, one of the greatest dangers in air traffic, may be eliminated by the "acoustic altimeter" just developed by Lieut. Leo P. Delsasso, United States Naval Reserve. *Science Service* reports that the new instrument gives a continuous series of red flashes, each marking the exact height of the air-plane from the earth.

The once-powerful "white" Indians of British Guiana's interior now are almost extinct. A British surveying party reported it could find only eight survivors of the tribe which once dominated the region. They are known as Waiwai Indians from the color of their skin, "waiwai" being the word for tapioca in several British Guiana Indian dialects.

Honey, benzene from coal, and kerosene contain a greater percentage of deuterium, or "heavy hydrogen," than might be expected from its relative abundance in nature, Dr. Malcolm Cole, of Northwestern University, has reported to the American Chemical Society. It indicates that living creatures have the capacity to select the kind of hydrogen they will use; all of these substances being of organic origin.

A fly's whiskers are his own business, unless he is a sand-fly. In that case, Dr. Salvatore J. Parlato, of Buffalo, New York, recently reported in *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, they may be one cause of asthma. Dr. Parlato examined 850 asthma patients and found 5 per cent. sensitive to sand-fly hairs.

SPONSORS OF THIS MEETING

NATIONAL GROUP:

Dr. S. Parkes Cadman (Congregationalist)
Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick (Baptist)
Dr. Edward L. Israel (Jewish)
Dr. M. Ashby Jones (Southern Baptist)
Dr. William P. King (Southern Methodist)
Dr. Bishop Francis J. McConnell (Methodist)
Dr. John McDowell (Presbyterian)
Dr. D. P. McGeachy (Southern Presbyterian)
Dr. Kirby Page (Disciples)
Dr. Daniel A. Poaling (Dutch Reformed)
Dr. Bishop William Scarlett (Episcopalian)

LOCAL GROUP:

Ministers: Dr. Fred W. Ingvaldstad, Bishop Thomas Casady, Dr. F. M. Sheldon, Dr. C. McLeod Smith, Committee Federal Council of Churches; and Dr. M. Wheeler, State Superintendent of the Society for the Friendless.

Laymen: B. M. Parmenter, Lawrence Lay, Chas. N. Bancroft, Art Mosley, H. S. Caldwell, R. M. Funk, Homer Caldwell.

Lay Women: Mrs. Raymond Ryder, Mrs. J. W. Cooper, Jr., Mrs. T. P. Taylor, Mrs. William G. Nissen, Mrs. Chas. Percival, Mrs. George E. Calvert, Mrs. R. M. McClintock, Mrs. B. F. Thompson.

NO ADMISSION CHARGE

OKLAHOMA CONFERENCE of LAYMEN and MINISTERS

on

War and Economic Injustice . . .

Dr. Fred W. Ingvaldstad, Chairman;
R. M. Funk, Secretary

One of a series of nation-wide conferences to consider in mass meetings the significance of the replies from 20,870 ministers to a questionnaire on WAR AND ECONOMIC INJUSTICE.

To be held at the First Methodist Church, May 14th, 1934. Fourth and Robinson St., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

PROGRAM

May 14, 1934

First Session 10 A. M. to Noon

Chairman, Dr. Fred W. Ingvaldstad.

1. Invocation—Dr. Samuel Gibson, Pastor First Presbyterian Church, State President Federal Council of Churches.
2. Address—"Questionnaire and Interpretation," Dr. C. McLeod Smith, Oklahoma Secretary Federal Council of Churches.
3. Method of Approach to the Problem, Lawrence Lay, Layman.
4. Round Table Discussion, Gene H. Hemry and Fred W. Anderson.

Second Session, 2 P. M. to 4 P. M.

Chairman, Dr. A. L. Aulick, Pastor Trinity Baptist Church.

1. Invocation—Rev. I. W. Young, Pastor First Nazarene Church.
2. Address—"The Clamorous Competitors of Christianity, Dean Thomas A. Williams, Liberal Arts, Oklahoma City University.
3. Address—"ECONOMIC INJUSTICE, Oscar Ameringer, Layman.
4. Round Table Discussion—On War, led by Dr. Fred W. Ingvaldstad, Pastor First M. E. Church.

Third Session, 8:00 P. M.

Chairman, Dan Hogan, Editor of the Advertiser.

1. Invocation, Rev. J. H. O. Smith, First Christian Church, Britton, Okla.
2. Address—"The ECONOMIC challenge to Our Spiritual Leadership, Dr. F. M. Sheldon, Pastor Pilgrim Congregational Church.
3. Address—"Facts with reference to the cause of our ECONOMIC INJUSTICE, Hon. B. M. Parmenter, Layman.
4. Findings of Committee.

Sunday May 13
News Phone War

CHURCH PARLEY HERE TO PRESS ANTI-WAR PLEA

Laymen and Ministers Hold
One-Day Conference on
Economic Questions

Delegates to a statewide meeting of ministers and laymen here tonight will be asked to support a resolution declaring opposition to any future wars.

The group, which opened the one-day session in the First Methodist Church this morning, also will be requested to vote on other resolutions opposing economic injustices, said R. M. Funk, temporary secretary.

The session was called here as part of a nation-wide movement following publication of answers from 20,870 ministers to a questionnaire on war, economic and political issues.

Of the total who answered the questionnaire, 12,904 declared themselves as not sanctioning any future war or would not participate as an armed combatant.

Favor League Entry

More than 10,000 expressed the belief the United States should enter the League of Nations at once; 17,023 opposed military training in high schools or colleges; 15,985 favored substantial decrease in armaments even if the United States is compelled to take the initiative; 13,997 declared the churches should not go on record as refusing to support or sanction any future war.

Drastically reformed capitalism was favored by 10,691 who answered the questionnaire and 5879 believed that Socialism as represented by the Socialist party of America offers the most effective method of achieving a cooperative commonwealth.

"This is an astounding report," declared the Rev. Fred W. Ingvaldstad, who presided at the opening session. "It shows great courage and liberal views of our ministry."

Urges Spiritual Guidance

In the opening address the Rev. M. McLeod Smith pointed out the need for a greater spiritual and moral strength in the world to overcome economic injustices.

"Some people criticize the ministers for answering these questions, declaring they have no right or place in such problems," he said.

"But I say to you men here that every human problem is a problem of the ministry and God. This war and economic business involves the material, but back of it all is the spiritual problem. If we would get back to righteousness many of these problems would solve themselves."

He pointed out that feeding sandwiches, slabs of pork and a bag of turnips to the poor, "is not mercy. The way we can show mercy to the poor who have been wronged by the existing conditions is to change the conditions over which we have some control."

This afternoon Dean T. A. Williams of Oklahoma City University was to deliver an address on "The Clamorous Competitors of Christianity," and Oscar Ameringer will speak on "Economic Injustice."

In tonight's session Rev. F. M. Sheldon and B. M. Parmenter will be the principal speakers. Afterwards steps will be taken to form a permanent organization to sponsor discussion of the war and economic problems throughout the state.

this paper.

Ministers And Laymen to Meet Here on Monday

This is one of a series of nation-wide conferences to consider in mass meetings the significance of the replies from 20,870 ministers to a questionnaire on WAR AND ECONOMIC INJUSTICE, to be held in the First Methodist Church, May 14th, 1934. Fourth and Robinson Streets, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

First Session 10 A. M. to Noon.

1. Invocation—Dr. Samuel Gibson, Pastor First Presbyterian Church, State President Federal Council of Churches.
2. Address—Questionnaire and Interpretation, Dr. C. McLeod Smith, Oklahoma Secretary Federal Council of Churches.
3. Method of Approach to the Problem, Lawrence Lay, Layman.
4. Announcements.

Second Session, 2 P. M. to 4 P. M.

1. Address—WAR, Dr. Fred W. Ingvaldstad, Pastor First Methodist Church.
2. Address—ECONOMIC INJUSTICE, Oscar Ameringer, Layman.
3. Announcements.

Third Session, 8:00 P. M.

1. Address—THE ECONOMIC Challenge to Our Spiritual Leadership, Dr. F. M. Sheldon, Pastor Pilgrim Congregational Church.
2. Address—Facts with reference to the cause of our ECONOMIC INJUSTICE, Hon. B. M. Parmenter, Layman.
3. Announcements.

FIRST METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
Fourth at Robinson

PASTORS AND LAYMEN DISCUSS WAR AND ECONOMIC INJUSTICE

Pastors and laymen from all sections of Oklahoma will meet in First Church Monday in the first Oklahoma conference on War and Economic Injustice.

It will be one of a series of nation-wide conferences to consider in mass meetings the significance of the replies from 20,870 ministers to a questionnaire on war and economic injustice.

Rev. Fred W. Ingvaldstad will preside at the session, with R. M. Funk as secretary. The program follows:

First Session 10 A. M. to Noon—1. Invocation, Dr. Samuel Gibson, Pastor First Presbyterian Church, State President Federal Council of Churches. 2. Address, "Questionnaire and Interpretation," Dr. C. McLeod Smith, Oklahoma Secretary Federal Council of Churches. 3. Method of Approach to the Problem, Lawrence Lay, Layman. Second Session, 2 P. M. to 4 P. M.—1. Address, WAR, Dr. Fred W. Ingvaldstad, Pastor First Methodist Church. 2. Address, ECONOMIC INJUSTICE, Oscar Ameringer, Layman.

Third Session, 8:00 P. M.—1. Address, THE ECONOMIC Challenge to Our Spiritual Leadership, Dr. F. M. Sheldon, Pastor Pilgrim Congregational Church. 2. Address, Facts with reference to the cause of our ECONOMIC INJUSTICE, Hon. B. M. Parmenter, Layman.

Sponsors of this meeting include, National Group, Dr. S. Parkes Cadman (Congregationalist); Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick (Baptist); Dr. Edward L. Israel (Jewish); Dr. M. Ashby Jones (Southern Baptist); Dr. William P. King (Southern Methodist); Dr. Bishop Francis J. McConnell (Methodist); Dr. John McDowell (Presbyterian); Dr. D. P. McGeachy (Southern Presbyterian); Dr. Kirby Page (Disciples); Dr. Daniel A. Poling (Dutch Reformed); Dr. Bishop William Scarlett (Episcopalian).

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Before Peace Preachers To Talk On Peace

Laymen and Pastors Agree On Campaign Here.

Decision to launch a move for peace through Oklahoma City pulpits was made by a group of laymen and preachers Monday at the First Methodist church.

All pastors will be invited to preach on "Peace" on Sunday, May 27, and on the night of Memorial day, May 30, the second meeting of the group will be held at the First Methodist church.

More than 150 persons Monday heard condemnation of war and concentration of wealth at the meeting.

During the afternoon Dean T. A. Williams, Oklahoma City University, pleaded for "militant pacifism" by the clergy and laymen.

At the night session Dr. F. M. Sheldon, pastor of the Pilgrim Congregational church, spoke on the challenge economic conditions are offering to the spiritual leadership of the nation and B. M. Parmenter, attorney, condemned the economic injustice of the NRA codes, which he declared were devised by the monopolistic firms in each industry to their own profit at the expense of the consumer.

MONDAY, MAY 14, 1934.

PASTORS JOIN WITH LAYMEN

War and Economic Problems To Be Talked Today.

Oklahoma City laymen and pastors will join a nation-wide movement in discussing war and economic problems in a day-long discussion at the First Methodist church Monday.

Discussions will center about a questionnaire sent out to 100,000 preachers over the nation, which revealed a sharp trend to liberalism among the clergy and which has provoked considerable comment throughout the country.

The discussions, sponsored by an interdenominational committee composed of prominent preachers, are being held in the larger cities over the country. Rev. Fred W. Ingvaldstad, who will preside at the morning meeting Monday, said.

At the first meeting Rev. S. M. Gibson will give the devotional and Rev. McLeod Smith will read the report on the questionnaires.

During the afternoon Dean T. A. Williams, Oklahoma City University, and Oscar Ameringer will speak and there will be round-table discussions led by Rev. A. L. Aulick and Mr. Ingvaldstad.

Rev. F. M. Sheldon will preside at the night meeting, which opens at 8 p. m. and B. M. Parmenter, attorney and former special assistant to the United States attorney general, will speak.

*This paper delivered to 28000 homes
in Okla. City.*

OKLAHOMA CITY ADVERTISER

CITY CHURCH GROUPS WILL DISCUSS WAR

Conference Of Pastors And
Laymen To Consider ()
Attitude

The Oklahoma Conferences of laymen and ministers on "War and Economic Injustice" will be held May 14, next Monday, at the First Methodist church, Fourth and Robinson.

This is one of a series of nationwide conferences to consider in mass meetings the significance of the replies from 20,870 Protestant ministers to a questionnaire on this subject. The results of the query showed that the number of ministers who pledge themselves to oppose any war is steadily gaining, and that they are becoming more radical in their economic views.

Dr. Fred W. Ingvolstad of the First Methodist church will act as chairman of the conference, and R. M. Funk, secretary.

The following local group will act as sponsors: Ministers: Dr. Fred W. Ingvolstad; Dr. F. M. Sheldon, Pilgrim Congregational church, Dr. C. McLeod Smith, committee, Federal Council of Churches; and Dr. M. Wheeler, state supt. of the Society for the Friendless.

Laymen: B. M. Parmenter, Lawrence Lay, Charles N. Bancroft, Art Mosley, H. S. Caldwell, R. M. Funk, and Homer Caldwell.

Lay Women: Mrs. Raymond Ryder, Mrs. J. W. Cooper, Jr., Mrs. T. P. Taylor, Mrs. William G. Nissen, Mrs. Charles Percival, Mrs. George E. Calvert, Mrs. R. M. McClintock, and Mrs. B. F. Thompson.

The program follows:

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4. Announcements.

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1. Address—War, Dr. Fred W. Ingvolstad, Pastor First Methodist Church.
2. Address—Economic Injustice, Oscar Ameringer, Layman.
3. Announcements.

Third Session, 8:00 P. M.

1. Address—The Economic challenge to Our Spiritual Leadership, Dr. F. M. Sheldon, Pastor Pilgrim Congregational Church.
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3. Announcements.

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ANTI-WAR PLEDGE GIVEN BY FOSDICK

'Penitent Reparation' to the
Unknown Soldier He Vows
Never to Aid Conflict Again.

OTHER CLERGYMEN AGREE

Five Ex-Chaplains Repudiate
Their Service at Church
Peace Conference.

In "penitent reparation" to the
Unknown Soldier, the Rev. Dr.
Harry Emerson Fosdick, pastor of
the Riverside Baptist Church,
vowed last night that he would
"never again, directly or indirectly,
sanction another war." Dr. Fos-
dick, who spoke at the Broadway
Tabernacle Church, declared, "I'll
see you in prison first."

Earlier, five clergymen who served
as chaplains in the World War de-
clared that they would not serve in
a similar capacity in a future war.
They were unanimous in asserting
that the function of an army chap-
lain was to sustain the morale of
the soldiers by instilling a "war
psychology."

Dr. Fosdick spoke as if he were
making a confession to the Un-
known Soldier. Recalling his own
experiences in France during the
World War, the clergyman re-
proached himself for having coun-
seled soldiers before they "went
over the top on their murderous
and suicidal task." For that reason
he had an account to settle
between himself and the Unknown
Soldier, he said.

Visions War of Future.

Dr. Fosdick foresaw a future
conflict embracing women and
children as well as private property.
Poets, preachers, orators and com-
posers of martial music who glori-
fied war did so because they had
never witnessed one, he declared,
adding:

"General Sherman came nearer to
the truth when he said, 'War is
hell.'"

That war demands courage, faith
and fidelity is a tragic paradox,
Dr. Fosdick said.

"The noblest qualities of human
life, which could make earth a
heaven, make it, in war, a hell," he
concluded. "Men cannot have Christ
and war at the same time. I re-
nounce war."

Norman Thomas, who spoke af-
ter Dr. Fosdick, opened discussion
of "The Church and Economic In-
justice." Mr. Thomas appealed to
the churches to fight against racial
intolerance, economic ills and
fascism.

He criticized the present adminis-
tration which, he said, accepted
the doctrine of the economy of
abundance and limited production
while millions were underfed and
badly clothed. He admitted, how-
ever, that the government was
ahead of "prevailing sentiment in
America."

Calling on the church to cooper-
ate in "a common effort for a
planned society," Mr. Thomas de-
clared he did not look to it for po-
litical and economic leadership be-
cause it was "usually late in ex-
pressing its opinions," but he
hoped a new "moral passion"
would sweep through the country
against injustice, intolerance and
stupidity.

Their declaration was made at a

Continued on Page Seven.

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ANTI-WAR PLEDGE GIVEN BY FOSDICK

Continued From Page One.

seminar on "What Should the Attitude of the Individual Be to Various Forms of War Service?" at the opening sessions of a two-day conference on war and economic injustice at the Broadway Congregational Tabernacle Church, Fifty-sixth Street and Broadway. More than 300 clergymen, social workers and laymen attended.

Earlier in the day Mr. Thomas and the Rev. Dr. William P. Merrill, pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, had addressed the conference. Both stressed the need for a concrete program, involving action rather than speeches, resolutions and treaties, to assure world peace.

Faith in "Hot Air" Deplored.

"We have put our faith too much in 'hot air,'" Dr. Merrill said, estimating that 90 per cent of the people wanted peace but that "a decided majority" regarded it as impossible under present conditions. "What we need above all is the return of millions of men and women to something we have lost—a resolute and outspoken faith in the value and power of ideals, of moral and religious forces and a determination to make honor, justice, good will and regard for the general welfare the dominant considerations in the organized life of mankind."

In Mr. Thomas's opinion, assurance of peace called for preparation of "a society to which peace is appropriate, as it is not appropriate today."

"The outlook for mankind is dark from every viewpoint," he said, "unless you in the church can discover a dynamic to relieve the world of the feeling that violence is inevitable."

Thirty-five of the thirty-six per-

Loch Ness Monster Seen For 15 Minutes by 2 Men

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, May 7.—George Grinton, chairman of the Scottish Autocycle Union, and John Stirling, another official of the organization, had the Loch Ness monster in view for fifteen minutes today, they told The Daily Mail.

"We were standing on high ground near Dores," said Mr. Grinton, "when we saw toward the other side of the loch a black object appearing above the surface of the water. It was traveling at a steady pace toward Fort Augustus and creating considerable wash. I could see distinctly two humps and a smallish head and its skin seemed rough like an elephant's."

Mr. Stirling added that when they left it appeared to be basking on the surface.

sions at the seminar, which was one of four being conducted simultaneously, voted with the five ex-chaplains to refuse to serve in the event of another war.

Resolve to Preach Against War.

On the theory that "any socially useful activity furthers the cause of war in wartime," the group, under the chairmanship of the Rev. Roswell P. Barnes, pastor of the University Heights Presbyterian Church, voted unanimously that it would confine its activities in future international wars to "preaching against war, whether it be from a pulpit or a soapbox." In the case of class wars, however, only twenty-nine would assent to a similar resolution, the remaining seven reserving the right to "doubt."

The Rev. Edmund B. Chaffee, pastor of the Labor Temple, presided at a seminar on the question "Should the Church Now Go On

Record as Opposed to All War?" A vote disclosed that the sentiment was twenty-six to four for an immediate declaration.

Discussion at the conference centered around the replies of 20,870 clergymen to a questionnaire on war, the results of which were made public last week. Kirby Page, an editor of The World Tomorrow, analyzed the answers. The Rev. Dr. Allen Knight Chalmers, pastor of the church, presided at the general sessions.

Three Die in Crash in Mexico.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

MEXICO, D. F., May 7.—Three infants in their mothers' arms were crushed to death yesterday in the suburb of Chalco when a crowd tried to force its way into the church where Archbishop Pascual Diaz was to confirm a large group of candidates.

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This Business of Peace

LET US BE REALISTS—LASTING PEACE IS IMPOSSIBLE SO LONG AS THE ENTANGLING ALLIANCE BETWEEN WAR AND POLITICAL ECONOMY CONTINUES

Harold Gelwicks

IN the Far East, Japan stakes off her claim in Asia, openly defying all the powers. Over the rest of the world, the nations pile up arms and build more battleships. Meanwhile, we readers are being driven under cover by a new barrage of "literature" on "what we must do to prevent war."

For instance, it is the vogue just now to point the accusing finger at our munition manufacturers as the "great menace to peace." Senator Borah flays them with a speech, quoting liberally from an issue of *Fortune*. He could have quoted from almost any other periodical had he wished. Books "exposing" the "nefarious ring" are pouring off the press. All have the same theme song: It is the despicable, unprincipled, callous arms manufacturer who foment war. Why not? Doesn't he make three cents on a bullet costing half a cent to make? And the implication is that if the bridle be put on this bad man of a munition maker the problem of preventing war will be largely solved.

But any hope of saving ourselves from war simply by ridding ourselves of one menace to peace is vain. This attempt reminds one of the story of the old Norse god who thought he would show his strength by pulling up a tree. He found he could not do it. The roots had too firm a grasp. He had overlooked the roots. War is no flagpole that can be lifted easily out of a hole in the ground. It is a tree with roots twisting throughout the entire groundsoil of our civilization, and holding on tightly to the bedrock of economic reality.

ANSWERING the questionnaire sent out by a committee sponsored by Kirby Page, 20,870 ministers and seminary students, as stated in last week's *HERALD*, by an overwhelming majority put themselves on record as "pacifists." That is, they registered their opposition to the usual things "pacifist" ministers usually oppose. They opposed military training. They opposed armaments, and called for drastic reduction. They opposed intervention. They were opposed to the church's sanctioning war, and they even went so far as to make declarations of personal pacifism. Even though they did waver in their opposition to chaplain service and a good number still believed they were competent enough to distinguish between aggressive and defensive

war, on the whole their stand against war was pretty solid.

Yet the critical reader, examining the returns to this questionnaire and comparing the tabulations just mentioned with those for the economic questions included in the questionnaire, wondered if many of those answering realized what they were saying.

THE term "pacifist," even from before the last war, has been under a cloud. To be labeled a "pacifist" is another way of being classified as one of a species coming under the genus "impractical idealist." That this has come about is unfortunate. The slur attached to the word "pacifist" has damaged the work for peace considerably. But this slur has been unavoidable precisely because too many of those opposing war deserve it.

Most of those pacifists who get themselves discredited do so simply because they lack sufficient appreciation for realities. As unimpeachable a worker for peace as Devere Allen has pointed out, "The greatest danger of war, so far as this country is concerned, lies not alone, perhaps, not mainly, in openly militaristic opinion, but in men and women of goodwill whose idealism is not appreciably tinted with realism." And Mr. Allen goes on to assert that these are usually "the people who will support such wars as can be made by their proponents to seem crusades for noble ends. These are the people who constitute the bulk of the peace movement as a whole." They may oppose intervention, and even urge a certain amount of arms limitation. But defensive war? Well, now, that is different.

The trouble is that many advocates of peace do not realize the task of peace. They still have to understand its essential nature. Peace is still conceived negatively rather than positively. And like many bungling practitioners, they muddle around treating symptoms rather than getting busy to remedy the disease.

THE list of questions set out in the questionnaire is quite typical of any list that might be drawn up by our "peace-minded" friends. The list implies that the problem of war will be largely solved by measures such as participation in the League of Nations, disarmament, discontinuation of R. O. T. C., and personal affirmations of pacifism.

Now, these measures have their very

important place; for, since the causes giving rise to war are very complex, the attack on war must therefore be a varied attack. But our attack has, for all its many-sidedness, failed to hit the mark.

The lack of realism implicit in this diagnosis is shown up by the methods employed to cure the patient. The idea has been to persuade men to be reasonable and to behave with "goodwill" as "gentlemen and Christians." By perfecting "international machinery," building up a League of Nations, signing peace pacts, and the like, our peace advocates hoped that gradually there would be built up a habit of mutual cooperation and international law strengthened to the place where nations because of mutual confidence could reduce their armies and live in comity. Not a bad scheme, on the whole. And generally sound, except for the fact that those endorsing it usually overlooked the foundation on which even such a good scheme must rest.

IT must first be clearly understood that any system of international cooperation must be based on an effective will toward peace. This "effective will" will not come of any emotional recognition of "brotherhood" of nation to nation, but it must come of the common effort of mankind to satisfy its practical everyday needs and desires.

Secondly, it must be realized that peace is not the thing most people consciously desire. Peace is an important need, and in so far as people are conscious of their need for peace they can be brought to work together for it. But most peace workers entirely overestimate the desire for peace and the fear of war. The truth is that men's greatest desires are grouped about their task of living and their greatest fear is of losing their living. In other words, the most fundamental group emotions, the most powerful incentives to common action, are found in man's economic life.

THAT economic disputes were behind the disputes leading to the last war needs no lengthy elaboration here. True, the immediate issues were not economic. These were the blatant nationalisms, the talk about "Mitteleuropa" and "revanche," and most serious of all, the division of the Continent into two rival camps each bristling with arms. But these were not the fundamental causes of the war. What lay behind the runaway nationalism, bloating that sentiment with hate of other nations? What drove the European nations into the two camps? What led the nations into the long string of crises culminating in the climax after Serajevo? What made nations so fear each other that each year more and more was spent on armament?

Isn't the answer to these questions that

each nation, or at least a group in each nation, felt its standard of living, if not its very existence or livelihood, threatened by some other nation? The activities of German merchants in Morocco brought a clash with France, opening the old sore just beginning to heal. English manufacturers and shippers, feeling the competition of goods "made in Germany," grew resentful, and when the Germans expressed their bid to power by building up their navy, our Englishmen became apoplectic. In Asia Minor the rails of the Berlin-to-Bagdad railway cut across that region so tenaciously coveted by Russia. Then, incidentally, there was that comic quarrel between Austria and Serbia in 1913 which has come down in history as the "Pig War."

Each European nation was struggling with its neighbor for control of raw materials and markets, and it was when the economic activity of groups within one country threatened the interests of groups within another that resentments grew and animosities passed into the hates that made for war.

A CURSORY glance at the daily paper during the past year would have shown any moderately intelligent reader the same forces at work. Just as in the decades preceding the World War the principal source of friction was the expansion of Germany, so today the most striking force drawing the nations into conflict is the expanding economic aspirations of Japan.

It is Japan's desire to control the sources of raw materials upon which her existence as a power depends that brings her into Manchuria and there into conflict with both Russia and China. It is the desire to control the fisheries off Kamchatka and the oil resources of Sakhalin that makes her covet eastern Siberia. In China, Japan wants to assure herself of control over that nation's coal and iron resources as well as a preferred position in its market for cotton goods. British textile manufacturers, already driven out of the Chinese market and other markets in the Far East, are making a desperate effort to keep Japanese textile men out of India. Japanese expansion in the South Pacific has made the Australians uneasy over their future in a Japan-dominated Pacific. Antagonism in the United States is growing with Japan's attempt to bar America from China, and this antagonism is bound to mount should Japan attempt to displace American trade in South America.

AND yet this activity of the Japanese is only the most striking example of the rivalries that are taking place between every industrial country and its competitors. That these rivalries have not led to war is only because they have

not been sufficient threats to livelihood or to national existence.

People fight when they become aroused, and they become aroused over many things. But usually they are not conscious, when they fight, of just what they are fighting over. The same is true of nations. They are like neighbors, who after falling out over the depredations by the chickens of one in the garden of the other are conscious only of their mutual dislike. Nations, in this day at least, will probably not fight baldly for economic advantage. Nevertheless, if they go to war, the root cause of their fighting will be economic.

IN the past these economic "thorns in the flesh" have made for war in at least two ways. In the first place, our present economic system based on gain-motivated private initiative has tended to create powerful, interested minority groups. These groups, if they be arms manufacturers, have something to gain directly from war. Or, if they be groups interested in manipulating tariffs, or getting the government to secure trade benefits or protect investments, they may bring pressure upon the government to pursue policies inevitably leading to friction with other nations and so to war.

As acute an observer of affairs as André Siegfried maintains that if governments would only wash their hands of economic matters, leaving them to business men, international difficulties would cease. Let the government refuse to have anything to do with tariff lobbies. Let those who have goods to export hire their own drummers. And let those who feel they have money to invest abroad invest at their own risk. This is all very good and very reasonable advice, but, like most "good and reasonable" advice, it is good only so far as it goes. It presupposes governments capable of adopting this neutral policy. It may be that governments will be able to abstract themselves from their jobs as lackeys to business interests. But it seems very doubtful that any practise of economic neutrality can ever be followed by the government of a country where money rules.

A second way in which the old economic system makes for trouble is in creating an export surplus, which must be dumped abroad. As this dumping can take place only in competition with other nations, it usually leads to an international cat fight.

Ridding ourselves of our export surplus is perhaps the most crucial problem to be solved if America is to be kept out of war. The seriousness of this problem is shown by the attention given it by Secretary Wallace in his booklet "America Must Choose." Our Secre-

tary of Agriculture spoke plainly: If we would keep out of conflict with other nations, we must regulate our trade so that it will be equitable to all parties. The whole program of the NRA is bent on making it possible for the United States, save for that portion which must go to pay for necessary imports, to consume all it produces. It is no exaggeration to say that upon the success of the New Deal in eliminating this export surplus depends the peace of our nation.

BUT it is still to be asked if we can eliminate this ominous surplus and keep our economic system, based as it is on private ownership of the means of production. The Administration hopes so. But there are many who are skeptical. To paraphrase the titles used by a noted writer on contemporary affairs, they ask, "Can capitalism keep the peace?"

Many of the ministers answering the Kirby Page questionnaire seem to think capitalism can. They may be right. Yet if they are not, it is not strange that they fell into the logical inconsistency of favoring at the same time pacifist measures and an economic system that makes their pacifism treason. For that is what pacifism is in a system in which war is inevitable. The problem is very confusing. But their confusion of thought might have been avoided had the portion of the questionnaire on economic matters asked for opinions on tariff policies, control of investments abroad, control of exports, and the like, and the questions been arranged so that the entangling relations between war and political economy would be self-evident.

IT is not the intention of this writer to say that disputes with other nations cannot be avoided under the present economic system. It may be possible. On the other hand, it is also possible that there will always be disputes leading to war as long as nations exist, regardless of the economic system. But what he does hope to leave with the reader is the realization that no adequate program or plan for peace can be formulated till there has been at least a serious and profound study of the economic causes of war. For we cannot have lasting peace till we provide for peace a stable and permanent economic foundation.

The Solitaire in Education

Davis Wasgatt Clark

HORACE MANN, born May 4, 1796, was not attracted by any work of art or literature, or any social organization of church or state, unless he found the golden thread of benevolence in it. That is the unfailing clew to his unique

Federation Holds Annual Banquet

St. Louis Church Body Shows New Life
—Dean Gilkey at Youth Conference
—Anti-Saloon League Meets

(Correspondence from St. Louis)

ST. LOUIS, May 16.—The St. Louis church federation, one of the first organized in the United States, celebrated its 25th anniversary in a delightful meeting. More than 600 ministers and laymen of the city spent three hours at the banquet table hearing brief addresses concerning the accomplishments and future purposes of the federation. Dr. C. Oscar Johnson, minister Third Baptist church and retired president of the Northern Baptist convention, gave a sparkle and spiritual motivation to the meeting that was all pervasive. "When religion goes in," said one speaker, "it stops with you. When religion goes out, it becomes worldwide and seeks to save the last man." This he conceived to be the ideal of the St. Louis federation.

All hearts were moved to sympathy on account of the absence of the executive secretary, who has served for three-fourths of the life of the federation. The wife of Dr. A. H. Armstrong is just recovering from a serious surgical operation, and Dr. Armstrong is now preparing for examination with the possibility of undergoing a serious operation. The assembly united in prayer for him, and five laymen were appointed a special committee to visit him and provide every facility for his proper care.

The federation has taken on new life during the six months presidency of Dr. George A. Campbell. The pre-lenten and Easter services brought a season of spiritual refreshing. The community training school was unusual in scope and results. Contacts were made with important civic interests with respect to the new liquor regulations. An attempt at an understanding between motion picture distributors and the clergy, appeals for social justice, and discussion groups with professional and business men concerning common civic problems have brought definite results.

* * *

Lindenwood Celebrates 107th Anniversary

Lindenwood college, Presbyterian, for girls and young women at St. Charles, the oldest college west of the Mississippi river, has celebrated its 107th birthday and the 20th anniversary of the presidency of Dr. John L. Roemer, the longest continuous presidency in the history of the school. These years have witnessed a development from Mrs. Sibley's single room log building, a private school for girls, to a modern A grade college with a campus of 200 acres, splendidly equipped modern buildings, valued at \$1,500,000, an endowment of \$2,000,000, modern curriculum, advanced faculty and 418 students from every state in the middle west.

* * *

Dean Gilkey Addresses Youth Conference

The Christian youth conference, a federation objective in public addresses and seminars, was one of the most significant

series of group meetings the city has known. More than 1,600 young people met in sessions during three days to consider subjects of peculiar interest to present needs in life's future calls. Dr. Charles W. Gilkey, dean of the chapel of the University of Chicago, brought three vital messages. Dr. Gilkey said: "For the first time in human history the commencement speakers this year dare not say, 'Opportunity waits on youth.' The world has changed and can nevermore be the same. The aged must with caution advise. Their experiences can hardly be referred to as a possible type of life for the future. Youth treads a new way, much more than ever, a path unknown."

* * *

Anti-Saloon League Prepares For Comeback

The annual meeting of the Missouri Anti-saloon league had the old time fire and enthusiasm of pre-prohibition days. There seems to have been a comeback that has profoundly stirred the old battling forces in the fight against the manifold evils recurrent through the sale of liquor. Dr. F. Scott McBride, national superintendent, quoting a daily paper said, "The modern tavern equals the saloon plus women." The liquor men said they would bring the saloon out into the open. They told the truth; they have. Drinking places are pressing on to every public highway and important street. Without shame or restraint they are pressing their wares on all people, particularly the young, to make new customers. The Anti-saloon league has learned some salutary lessons. In the future only the exceptional man known of a certainty to be dry in principle and practice as well as profession will have consideration.

* * *

Liquor Trade Losing Momentum

Local conditions with respect to the sale of liquor are bad, but their badness may yet prove the way to improvement as conditions become better known. Mr. Harry Scullin, the new excise commissioner, now realizes that he cannot keep women from taking employment as bar maids nor women from frequenting these places and publicly drinking. The package goods displayed in drug shops, grocery stores and eating places has been tested and found spurious. With the opening of places for sale of liquor by the drink the package goods men are reducing prices and some are closing out. The rush to sell has been greater than the rush to drink and competition is reducing the previously excessive profits.

CHARLES O. RANSFORD.

Two Denominations Join in Program Planning for Youth

Representatives of the Methodist Episcopal and Congregational-Christian churches recently met in Chicago to prepare outlines of programs for youth which are to be used in these denominations. In part, these outlines carry out the interdenominational program for youth agreed upon by many denominations at the recent meetings of the International council of religious education.

Disciples Propose Unified Promotion

After prolonged discussion the Disciples of Christ seem about to adopt a centralized

promotional scheme. With more than a dozen national and state agencies separately appealing to the churches for support, the churches have developed a "sales resistance" which has made cooperative action necessary. The "blue print" plan now being submitted to the boards for adoption provides for a cooperative council made up of agencies and a board of review composed of representatives of the agencies and the churches. Churches will be asked to send contributions to a central distributing agency.

Ministers Condemn R.O.T.C.

The minister's union of New Bedford, Mass., recently went on record as opposed to military training in the high schools of that city. This important decision was the outgrowth of a discussion of the questionnaire in which 20,870 clergymen gave their opinions on war and economic injustice. Steps are now being taken by the ministers to secure the abolition of this item from the curriculum of the high school.

Methodists Join Catholics In Reform Move

Seven hundred and forty-two Methodist congregations in the San Francisco area have formally joined forces with the Catholic and other groups in an attempt to secure clean motion pictures. This move was welcomed by the Catholic News, leading New York newspaper, which declared: "The movie magnates who heretofore have smiled at pleas for reform may well be alarmed now that the largest Protestant group on the Pacific coast is cooperating with Catholics. Let us hope that this joining of forces will be the beginning of a better feeling all around."

Two-Minute Stories

By Carl S. Patton

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"An inevitable book for the minister's handy-shelf," says Edgar De Witt Jones.

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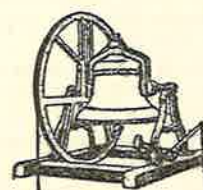
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Discern Peril to British Liberties

Proposed Law Would Make Possession of Literature Allegedly Subversive a Criminal Offense

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, May 7.—In one week two sensational interjections were reported, one from the home of opera in this country, Covent Garden, the other from the annual dinner in honor of the Royal academy. As Sir Thomas Beecham was conducting the lovely Leonora overture to Beethoven's Fidelio, he was exasperated at the talking which was going on that he cried out, "Shut up you . . ." What the close of the sentence was need not be added. Sir Thomas is a musical genius from whom all manner of eccentricity has to be forgiven; but most people are entirely with him in his determination to improve the manners of society at the opera. It is the custom of the Royal academy to hold a banquet before the spring exhibition is opened to the public. It is a dinner at which art claims a very small part. Army and naval dignitaries, ecclesiastics, statesmen discourse on their own concerns. Stirred to indignation by the prime minister's discourse on the national government, Mr. Adrian Stokes, a veteran artist, cried out, "Why not say something about the present exhibition?" He has been rebuked for his bad manners and of course it is not in good form to interrupt a guest at a banquet, but it may be hoped that this interruption will have its effect. Perhaps next year the speakers will speak more upon art than in other years and not carry on this fatuous display of our national affectation.

* * *

A Threat to Liberty

There is a growing volume of protest against the incitement to disaffection bill, which the government proposes to make law. It is not only such "rebels" as Mr. H. G. Wells who oppose it; the professor of English law at Oxford, Sir William Holdsworth, and the Chichele professor of international law at Oxford criticize the measure severely. It is claimed that the bill is planned simply to prevent citizens from seducing his majesty's forces from their duty. To do this it is proposed that it shall be an offense against law for any of us to have in our possession, or under our control, any document of such a nature that if it were disseminated it would seduce the forces! It is also proposed that a justice of the peace, who is satisfied by information on oath that there is reasonable ground for suspecting that an offense under this act has been committed, grant a search warrant authorizing any constable named therein to enter any premises named in the warrant. This clause is flatly opposed to the spirit of our law which 170 years ago condemned general search warrants.

If this bill becomes law it is claimed that the possession of a copy of "National Defense," a book by our present prime minister written in 1917, would be a criminal offense. In it he said that "an army is always a powerful weapon in the hands of

governments to destroy the chances of labor in a hard fought industrial dispute." The bill is certain to be fought vigorously by all who care for the liberty of the citizen. It is a bill, so Bertrand Russell declares, which says "Britons shall be slaves," and he adds that it would clearly make it illegal to have in one's possession the New Testament.

* * *

The Wandering Scholars

The series of political revolutions in Europe, according to Lord Rutherford in the Times, has created a large body of wandering scholars. Russians, Italians, Germans are among them. To find a place for them in the universities of the civilized world is not easy, harder indeed than it was in the middle ages. But much has been done in Great Britain: "Hospitality has thus been extended in this country to 178 of our university colleagues. The multicellular London university has received 67; Cambridge university has not only given hospitality to 31, but its individual colleges have contributed over £1,000 to the council's funds; Oxford university has welcomed 17 guests; Manchester university has invited 16, and by local efforts raised a special fund for their support." Happily there are still levels of life upon which men can rise above the miasma of nationalism.

* * *

Dr. Visser 't Hooft Visits England

Dr. Visser 't Hooft, whose name is pronounced "Toft," is paying a visit to 15 of the chief centers of student life in these islands. He is, as my readers know, the general secretary of the World's Student Christian federation. He is no stranger; as a student he spent a year at Woodbrooke. It is hoped that our student movement will raise £3,000 to meet its immediate needs; the advocacy of Dr. Visser 't Hooft will bring, it is believed, to the large companies who will hear him the meaning and the urgency of the task for which these supplies are needed.

* * *

And So Forth

In the early years of this century the Chinese civil service examiners set the following subject for an essay by the candidates: "When the philosopher Mo Ti preached the doctrine of non-resistance, Chinese armies became depleted. The same doctrine was taught by Christ, but has not had the same effect in Christian countries. Explain this." (Quoted by Bertrand Russell.)

The head of our fascists says it is a lie to say that he is anti-semitic. It is true that Jews are not welcomed to the fascist ranks. But they will have no reason to fear so long as they put Britain first. "I have said it," says Sir Oswald Mosley.

"His mind, imagination, thoughts and preaching dwell upon the most colorful, the most dramatic and the most moving pagantry of this theme shown through the history of mankind and repeated in that of every living man who had come to be troubled and who seeks for peace." So Mr. Ramsay MacDonald spoke of Spurgeon. It is admirably expressed and no doubt it represents an interpretation of the underlying philosophy of Spurgeon's teaching. But I think Spurgeon would have said, "I can put it more simply than that."

EDWARD SHILLITO.

over

Peace Requires Social Justice

Conference on International Crisis and Methodist War Commission, Meeting in Chicago, Reach Same Conclusion

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, May 21.—World peace has held the center of the ecclesiastical stage during the past couple of weeks, with the Chicago conference on the international and economic crisis meeting May 12-14 in the Morrison hotel, and the general conference commission on world peace of the Methodist church meeting May 14-16 at Garrett biblical institute, Evanston.

There was remarkable unanimity in the findings of the two groups; both meetings made constant reference to the recent questionnaire on war and economic injustice. The opinion was unanimous in both groups that war is but an aspect of the present economic system, and that there can be no assurance of ridding the world of war until we move from a competitive and acquisitive society to a cooperative commonwealth. In condemning war as a method of settling international disputes and violence as a method of settling class disputes, the Chicago conference expressed the conviction that "international war is the world expression of a competitive type of human society marked by injustice and inequality."

Similarly the Methodist group said: "It is obvious that the chief causes of war are economic and political in character. Under an economic system whose primary motivation is self-interest, and whose chief method is competition, there develops a fierce struggle for raw materials and markets. When this struggle becomes acute and investments and property are threatened, the industrialists and financiers, by appealing to doctrines of national honor and interest, exert pressure upon the respective governments to furnish diplomatic support and armed intervention. Thus private quarrels over private interests are transformed into national issues which threaten the peace of the world."

One doubts if ever before there has been such clear-eyed vision of the actualities of the situation by large numbers within the church.

* * *

An Attack on Two Fronts

This point of view led to an attack on two fronts by both these groups. On the one hand was a direct attack upon the war system, calling upon the churches to renounce war as sin and consequently to refuse all manner of participation in it. "No Christian should engage in any war for any purpose nor give to it his sanction or approval," said the Methodist group, and the Chicago conference took a similar position. Both groups saw involved in this the necessity for the church to oppose the continuance of R.O.T.C. in colleges, universities and high schools, the appointment of chaplains subservient to military authority, and similar militaristic activities. Both groups urged the necessity of strengthening all agencies for international peace, particularly those that look to the judicial settlement of disputes leading to war.

On the other hand, the inequities and injustices of the economic order were attacked, and measures looking to their amelioration and ultimate extinction were proposed. "We urge," said the Chicago conference, the rapid and systematic redistribution of wealth through social legislation, such as unemployment insurance, old age pensions and increased income and inheritance taxes; while the Methodists said, "We believe that what is needed within every nation is a rapid approach to a cooperative economic order and a resolute effort to strengthen international agencies of justice and security."

* * *

Participants in the Conferences

The very large attendance at both these meetings must have been very gratifying to the organizers of the conferences. The list of those who participated as leaders is too long to print here. However, among the headliners at the Chicago conference were Sherwood Eddy, Kirby Page, Rabbi L. L. Mann, Norman Thomas, Charles Clayton Morrison and Paul Douglas. Representing college youth were James F. Green of Yale graduate school and Miss Faith Ralph of the University of Michigan. Rev. Philip Allen Swartz, pastor of First Congregational church, La Grange, was chairman of the general committee in charge. Kirby Page and Dr. George A. Coe were resource men for the Methodist commission meeting, and Dr. Ralph W. Sockman of New York, chairman of the commission, presided. Among those participating were Dr. Merle N. English, associate secretary of the board of education, Dr. Ernest F. Tittle, of Evanston, Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk, secretary for international peace and good will of the Federal council, Charles Hart, one of the conscientious objectors expelled from Ohio State university, and others.

* * *

And So Forth

A quiet but effective "red hunt" seems to be going on in Chicago. I shall hope to say something more about it in detail in my next correspondence.

The University of Chicago settlement celebrated its 40th anniversary at a dinner last Friday evening, presided over by Prof. Arthur H. Compton, Nobel prize winner in physics and chairman of the board. Miss Mary McDowell, who founded the settlement 40 years ago in rooms over a feed store, was especially honored.

The Independent Motion Pictures exhibitors in session here last week protested the Hollywood block-booking system which makes it impossible for them to provide consistently clean pictures in their theaters.

Only a few more days and the 1934 edition of A Century of Progress exposition will be upon us. It is anticipated that it will be a better show than that of last year.

The American Institute of Sacred Literature in its annual report announces that over 2000 persons are studying its current course, "The Reconstructive Forces of the Christian Religion."

The Chicago Baptist association met with the First Baptist church, Evanston, May 7-8. A discussion of denominational reorganization preparatory to the meeting of the Northern Baptist convention was the most important item on the program.

CHARLES T. HOLMAN.

Woman Leads Glasgow Church

New Congregational Church Calls Mrs. Kenmure, Formerly of Partick—Dr. Watt Resigns Glasgow Charge

(Correspondence from Scotland)

WHITLEY BAY, May 3.—The venture of having Rev. Vera M. M. Kenmure conduct public worship in the Central halls, Glasgow, proved so successful (queues for the evening services), that her supporters summoned a meeting of those interested in the formation of a church for the exercise of a ministry unrestricted by any sex prejudice. Over 200 persons attended. They first adopted the following resolution: "This meeting of followers of the Lord Jesus Christ, believing that the Spirit of God may call either man or woman to preach the gospel and to the ministry of the church, hereby resolves, having sought divine guidance, to form a church of the Congregational or Independent order, which will witness to the liberty we have in Christ, and which will be known as Christ church, Congregational, Glasgow." Mrs.

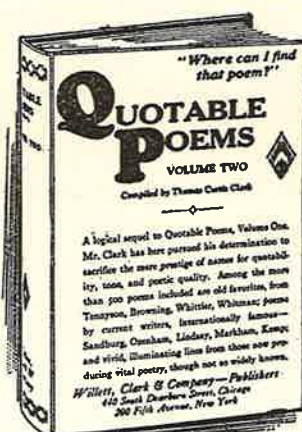
Kenmure then retired from the meeting while a resolution was passed inviting her to become their first minister. Upon her return, the chairman presented the call to her, observing that if it was a venture of faith on the part of the members, it would be a still greater act of faith on her part to accept the ministry of a church in its infancy, a church without property or financial reserves; but the meeting offered her what doubtless she would value higher—unanimity in purpose and principle. She accepted the invitation, after which the meeting approved a statement recording the reasons which had led to the formation of the church:

"After earnestly seeking in fellowship to learn the will of Christ, we have come to the conclusion that there is no barrier of sex or circumstance which should deny the liberty of prophesying to anyone feeling called by God to exercise this gift. . . . The reason given by some that marriage is a barrier to the exercise of her (Mrs. Kenmure's) ministry we cannot accept, for we know of no divine principle which demands a celibate ministry, whether exercised by man or woman." Officebearers having been elected, the meeting voted to continue worshipping for the present in the Central halls, but decided to start a building fund for the purpose of erecting or acquiring church premises. About 100 mem-



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bers of the new congregation formerly belonged to the Partick Congregational church of which Mrs. Kenmure was for five years the pastor.

* * *

Continuing Presbyterian Church Calls Woman Minister

The "Continuing" Presbyterian church, which authorized women ministers from its inception in 1929, has at last found one of its congregations bold enough to call a woman minister to the pastorate. The congregation is at Auchterarder (pronounced the way it looks, with accent on the third syllable), a pleasant town in Perthshire, and the probationer is Rev. Elizabeth Barr, daughter of Rev. James Barr, ex-labor M.P. and the fighting first moderator of this denomination. Miss Barr studied at the Congregational college in Edinburgh (which is used jointly by the two "Con" denominations) and was capped "B.D." by Glasgow university last year. She will bring the number of settled women pastors in Great Britain almost to the two-dozen mark. They are divided among the Congregational, Baptist and Unitarian bodies, with herself as the lone Presbyterian.

* * *

Dr. Watt Resigns as Glasgow Minister

Dr. MacLean Watt, the always interesting moderator of the 1933 Church of Scotland assembly, has announced his resignation as minister of Glasgow cathedral as from May 16. He is not an old man, having been ordained only 37 years, but he has always held heavy charges: Turriff with 1,500 communicants, Alloa with 2,500, St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, with over 2,000, and now for the last 11 years, Glasgow cathedral with 1,200. He had a severe heart attack from overwork a year ago.

* * *

Dr. Watt Hopes for Federated Union

Dr. Watt was at his best in addressing the Elders' and Officebearers' union last month. One of his striking paragraphs was as follows: "I pray before I die to see a step taken toward the establishment of a federated union of the Protestant churches of the world—a great Protestant federation throughout the earth, in which Baptist may be Baptist, Methodist may be Methodist, and Episcopalian may be what he likes, but all standing as one unbroken wall in times of crisis for the Protestant faith. I do not see why we should not or could not have that, and it depends upon the earnest laity of the church taking it up and working for it. The Church of Rome, with its Franciscans, Dominicans, and the rest, is not one perfect unity, but they are all under the one umbrella, so that the world can only see their feet. We, on the other hand, advertise our differences."

* * *

Honors for Dr. Coffin And Others

President Henry Sloane Coffin of Union theological seminary is to be awarded an LL.D. degree by St. Andrews university on June 29. Other well known honorary graduates are Prof. Donald Mackenzie of Princeton (Aberdeen); Andre Maurois, the novelist and biographer (St. Andrews); Rev. William Frederic Bade of Pacific school of religion, Berkeley, Cal., and Pres. H. J. Cody of Toronto university (Glasgow).

MARCUS A. SPENCER.

Vienna Feels Silent Boycott

Workers Stay Away from Government
May Day Celebration—Catholic Fascism Seeks to Woo Socialists

(Correspondence from Central Europe)

VIENNA, May 3.—What would happen on May day? All Vienna was asking itself that question. There were rumors of desperate deeds. The government prepared. Thousands of arrests; pressure upon citizens to make them attend the demonstration, the "Festival of Joy," before the town hall, and to get children to the children's festival in the stadium; headmasters informed that they must send 20 per cent of their scholars. Employers received notices of a similar kind. The trams—usually at a standstill on May day from 9 to 1 in order to allow tramway workers to join in the procession—were to run.

May day comes. A perfect day. The workers of Vienna used to say that the good Lord must love the socialists for he always sent them a fine May day. The trams are almost empty. The instinctive boycott has begun. The workers have decided simply to remain at home; let their absence be felt. At the windows of the great municipal tenements workers in shirt sleeves lean, or they sit by the doors, or walk up and down conscious of what has happened and is happening. Not even the perfect day and the Vienna woods, the great holiday resort of Viennese citizens, have claimed them today.

Along the two-mile stretch between the West station and the South station, where thousands of workers' families are at home in the beautiful blocks erected by the city, I counted six windows showing the colors of the Dollfuss "Patriotic Front." The chancellor had asked that these colors should be displayed! The absence of response is the measure of the silent boycott.

* * *

A Revealing Incident

The official May day procession organized by the government was due to pass by the now demolished monument of the republic, destroyed recently by Dollfuss. In the procession, with the green-white colors of the heimwehr on their sleeves, marched the railwaymen, who earlier under threat of dismissal had been compelled to join the patriotic front. Suddenly, as the procession filed past the dismantled symbol of the republic, three of the marching men raised their fists in the socialist salute and cried out the socialist greeting, "Freedom!" The little children on the sides of the street took up the cry, and children's voices were heard: "Freedom! Freedom!" They too remembered other May days.

* * *

Dr. Winter Seeks to Win the Workers

In our last letter we mentioned the appointment of Dr. Ernest Karl Winter to be third vice-mayor of Vienna, and indicated what the significance of this appointment was. Dr. Winter, left-wing Catholic and legitimist, believes in winning the workers, and in assuring them that the

setting up of trade unions with their own leaders, chosen even by themselves, is not incompatible with an authoritarian government. There is little doubt that he accepted office on the understanding that this was to be his line, or that Dollfuss appointed him because it was. One of his first acts was to convene three public meetings to which the workers were invited. They came. The hall was packed each time to overflowing. Dr. Winter spoke, as well as he could for interruptions. In spite of interruptions he held on. The workers said that if he meant what he said, they should be given their own elected and imprisoned leaders; their freedom. Once they sang the International. But Dr. Winter sang on. He wanted to win these workers. How incredible a sight it was—in fascist Vienna, after fighting and terror, free speaking, the outburst of pent-up feeling. But the police intervened at last; 14 people were arrested, and later released at Dr. Winter's intervention. What does it mean? Does Dollfuss think that only a Catholic fascism, looking toward and supported by a restored monarchy, can save him from the heimwehr? Has he chosen this consistent and brilliant young man, Winter, himself a son of simple people, to win the workers, by his genuine conviction and gifts of thought and speech, to the line of Catholic fascism, or at any rate to an attempt to try and function within it?

If Dr. Winter cannot win the more politically minded workers, he will turn to the right-wing ones, to the trade unionists. Will he win them? He has asked for an amnesty: will he get it, and for whom? It was arranged for him to address the workers on May day by radio, but he was reported by the Reichspost (government organ) to be ill a day or two beforehand. But that paper has already come out in support of the line he follows. And it is important to notice that on May day Prince Starhemberg, the legitimist and heimwehr leader, who has now approached nearer to Dollfuss in his attitude, was appointed vice-chancellor of Austria.

* * *

Vienna's New Magna Carta

Under the title "The Citizenship of Vienna, its Rights and Tasks" there appeared in the Reichspost the following paragraphs: "The 'Citizens of Vienna' will take the place of the municipal council. . . . This body consists of 64 members, and is to be constituted with regard to the vocational organization of the population. It will bear the title 'Council of the city of Vienna.' It will be nominated by the mayor, and will consist of 12 members from the circle of cultural associations (three members for the Roman Catholic church, one for the Evangelical church, and one for the Jewish religious community; one each for art and science, five for the school, training and educational institutions); 12 members for the following vocational corporations: crafts, trade and communications—these last named to be chosen with regard to the dependent earners; and finally, four members for the vocational corporations of agriculture, finance, free professions and public service. This body will sit for three years. The mayor can, however, before this period has elapsed, dismiss any members, and replace them by others; he also has the right to dissolve the whole body, and nominate it anew. This he must do in

the present activities of the traffickers who now threaten to break through all restraint.

* * *

And So Forth

The Church of Christ in China is moving its headquarters to Peiping, partly to save overhead but more because that city is nearer the majority of its synods than Shanghai. The National Christian council of China has invited Dr. Y. Y. Tsu, formerly director of religious work in Peking Union medical college and now a secretary of the council, to become its general secretary in the place of Dr. C. Y. Cheng who recently resigned to devote his time to the work of the Church of Christ in China.

Interest in the Oxford groups movement is growing. *Truth and Life*, a magazine published by progressive Chinese Christians in Peiping, contained in a recent issue a critical study of the movement by Prof. T. C. Chao of Yenching university.

So far as participating in social reconstruction is concerned the Christian movement has turned the corner. Though Christian efforts along this line are not coordinated they show that the Christian movement has aligned itself with this worthy and needed enterprise. The way government authorities are entering into community and rural reconstruction is creating new questions as to how Christians should participate therein especially in centers where the latter have already commenced work.

The Eastern Asia central conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, now in session at Nanking, has exchanged greetings with the eighth general synod of the Shung Kung Hui (Anglican) now in session at Wuhu.

FRANK RAWLINSON.

Educational Leader Bemoans America's Plight

"America is in a desperate situation," said Joy Elmer Morgan, editor of the influential *Journal of the National Education Association*, recently. "No amount of ballyhoo can change the fundamental facts of today's conditions. Here are four items worth thinking about. (1) On Jan. 1, it is estimated that some 50,000,000 people were dependent upon the federal government for some sort of support. (2) On April 1, there was a total of 4,700,000 dependent families on relief rolls, which is 100,000 more than a year ago. (3) On Jan. 1, more than 105,000 new registrations of destitute transients were reported on the relief rolls of 36 states and the District of Columbia. (4) There are in the United States more than 3,000,000 young people under 18 years of age for whom there are neither schools nor jobs."

Editors Condemn

Block-booking

A campaign to undermine the block-booking and blind-buying system under which motion picture exhibitors must secure films was voted at the annual meeting of editors of the religious press held in Washington, D. C., April 12, 13. "The council is convinced that the main reason for the large number of unsatisfactory motion pictures lies in the block-booking and blind-buying system," said the editors. Thirty-three editors representing weekly and monthly Protestant journals attended the meeting.

Boston Pastors Debate Pacifism

Questionnaire Basis for Discussion of Religious Problem—Vermont Called to Consider Social Issues

(Correspondence from New England)

SOMERVILLE, MASS., May 15.—Yesterday Boston ministers debated "Kirby Page's questionnaire." A "U panel" of six opened the discussion. Dr. L. O. Hartman rested the pacifist position on the teaching and death of Jesus, and maintained that no war which America has fought accomplished its end. Dr. Herbert S. Johnson claimed to be, like Jesus, a pacifist but not a super-pacifist. He could recall only two military men who were not opposed to war. "But armies are akin to police. Adequate means of defense secure peace." Rabbi Cohen charged the defenders of militarism with "trying to escape the teachings of Jesus." Johnson cited the command: "Turn the other cheek" and the use of the "scourge of small cords" to prove that Jesus was "a practical idealist." The rabbi retorted: "I am not called to defend the consistency of Jesus." Father Hamlin, high church Episcopalian, held that "capitalism is the cause of war. We, too, must drive out the money-changers of death." Prof. E. M. Winslow of Tufts college argued that wars were waged before capitalism, that they are due to persistence of savage traits, to "fallacies rather than verities." From the floor, Dr. Robert Watson cited Japan's seizure of Korea and now of Manchuria as cases of injustice which England and the United States ought to prevent even by appeal to war. Others pointed out that armies are not analogous to a police force so long as each nation is its own judge and executioner, and that the ultimate solution must be, as the general court of Massachusetts resolved in 1915: "The time has come to establish a world government."

* * *

Vermont Congregationalists Face Social Issues

This rural state might seem the least likely to feel the urgency of economic conditions. But the lay president of the conference, meeting in Barton, May 8 to 10, Arthur J. Holden of Bennington, in his address, quoted from an article in *The Christian Century* by Prof. Nixon: "If you want to know what is the matter with the churches, ask what vital issues they are not meeting." Though some say that "it is a disgrace and insult to carry economic ills into the pulpit or advocate a one-class society," Mr. Holden thought it "a sorry commentary on Christianity that an avowedly godless nation has the most constructive program for the rank and file. Out of the maelstrom emerges the certainty that those who have must find a better way to provide for the have-nots than government loans." The sermon, by Rev. J. G. Brown of Rutland, warned "the select, respectable, intelligent classes" that they had made society what it is and should heed Christ's warning against "the leaven of the Pharisees." A morning session was devoted to "The Call of the New Day," with six speakers. Rev. E. LeRoy Rice of

Barre dealt with the need of a "prophetic word." "Shall the church advocate socialism? No, but it must create a sense of responsibility for the solution of the social problem. Of the four solutions proposed, fascism and communism are clearly opposed to Christianity. Either a controlled capitalism or Christian socialism might be inspired and directed by it." Rev. Chauncy A. Adams, who was elected the new secretary, urged "more vital church membership." "Russia and Germany have become what they are because there arose no religious reformer. Christianity, exalting personality, must be taken seriously."

* * *

Religious Educators Demand Church Readjustments

At a "Conference on Religious Education in Greater Boston," a "Report on Neglected Areas" found that "churches and Sunday schools are available in every district," but that there is often "lack of volunteers and funds to provide paid workers." "Much more could be done if the churches pooled their resources and eliminated unnecessary duplication of services, thereby releasing workers, buildings, and funds for a more adequate program." At the dinner, Dr. Samuel A. Eliot, presiding, pointed out that education is one, and recalled that in his own family for four generations the memorizing of poems and hymns had proved the most effective method of teaching religion. Miss Susan A. Andrews, also, urged "return to the home—which investigation proves to contribute more even than the church—with adaptations to new conditions like apartment houses and the new status of women." Since religion inspires the whole of life, said Dean E. A. Churchill, laymen have a part and must enable the church to "compete with commercialized amusements on a higher level." Prof. Kirtly F. Mather, on "Adult Education," held that we must be shocked out of the complacency that "I am too old to learn."

* * *

Bits of New England Church Life

At the last meeting of the Boston Congregational ministers, Bishop Sherrill of the Episcopal church gave an address refreshing in these days of social discussion. "The great need is a deeper conviction of God. Astronomy will help us to realize his objectivity. We must teach rather than exhort. Of 25,000 wounded soldiers to whom I ministered as army chaplain, only two rejected prayer."

The New England council of federated church women held its 13th annual meeting in Portsmouth, N. H., May 8 and 9. Sessions were held in Unitarian, Congregational, Methodist and Baptist churches with a visit to "historic old St. John's church," Episcopal. Local talent rendered a drama: "Simon the Leper." The chief address was on "Social Relations for Church Women," by Mrs. Lucius H. Thayer. The new president is Mrs. Franklin D. Tappan of Worcester. One of its constituent state federations, Massachusetts, itself including 14 locals, met the previous day, reelecting Mrs. S. L. Elberfeld of East Boston, president, and listening, after business covering its many-sided work, to an illuminating study of the causes of crime by Dr. Eleanor T. Glueck and a devotional address by Rev. Hilda L. Ives. E. TALLMADGE ROOT.

together, whose aggregate total membership is somewhat less and whose adult membership is somewhat more. In the light of all these figures, taken for what they may be worth, one thing is clear. No one denomination is running away with the country. There is as little statistical evidence of success in making America Catholic as in making it Baptist or Spiritualist. (The Spiritualists, in fact, claim a 30 per cent increase, but on a very small base.) The question is whether all the churches together can make America Christian. Appropriately, opposite the name of "The Church Invisible" is the notation "no statistical report submitted." True enough, in more ways than one.

Methodist Commission Declares War a Sin

MEETING at Evanston, Illinois, May 14-16, the Methodist general conference commission on world peace adopted a platform having three main planks affirming: first, the duty of Christian men and of the church to dissociate themselves absolutely from war and from all preparations for war; second, the necessity of devising and sanctioning social and international machinery of a different order for settling controversies among nations; and third, the importance of removing the causes of war by minimizing the economic and political friction incident to exploitation, imperialism and the conflict of national and financial interests thereto. Specifically, the commission urges an investigation of the munitions industry, the authorization of an embargo on arms and credits to war-making nations, and the withholding of appropriations to carry out the naval construction program of the Vinson bill. Most striking of all, perhaps, is the outright declaration that "war is sin." The corollary of this is: "No Christian should engage in any war for any purpose or give his sanction or approval. This means that a Christian should refuse membership in any military organization whose purpose is the training of men to kill their fellow men or propaganda in support of the idea of military preparedness." A pronouncement by the commission on world peace must not be understood as an official declaration by the whole Methodist church, much less as the definition of a position binding upon all Methodists. Nevertheless it is a very significant utterance indicative of a large body of influential Methodist opinion. It is in line with resolutions previously adopted by the general conference.

Pouring Oil and Water On the Same Fire

NOTHING could be much more stupid and cruel than for the nations which are at peace to continue to supply munitions of war to those which are fighting, knowing that any fight anywhere is at any time likely to start a conflagration everywhere. The state department—which is our "department of peace"—is doing the best it can to promote friendly relations not only between the United States and our neighbors to the south but also among those neighbors.

Mr. Hull at Montevideo was eminently successful as an ambassador of good will. And at the same time American manufacturers, and European manufacturers as well, are furnishing the arms and equipment with which Bolivia and Paraguay carry on their jungle warfare. They are not smuggling these munitions out under false invoices but are shipping them in the regular course of business. It may be well enough in matters of charity not to let one's left hand know what one's right hand does; but if one hand shows a disposition to distribute the instruments of destruction for its own profit while the other tries to confer benefits, there would be a distinct advantage in establishing a better understanding between the two members. American business can tear down faster than American diplomacy can build up, and it ought to be made to stop. We are not the only sinners. The League of Nations has for months been lending its good offices to settle the Chaco dispute, and member nations of the league have been furnishing the weapons with which the fight is carried on. Similarly, Colombia and Peru, both of which are in default on bonds held by American creditors, have had no difficulty in getting fresh credits to purchase bombing planes and other equipment in American markets in preparation for fighting out the Letitia dispute which the state department and the league are trying to help the disputants to settle peaceably. It should not be necessary to wait for a full investigation of the munitions industry before something is done about that. Action on a situation so obvious does not require extraordinary wisdom but just elementary sanity.

Is the Church Mind on Liquor Changing?

CAUTION must be exercised in estimating the importance of the action of the New York East conference of the Methodist Episcopal church with regard to liquor control. A vote in one conference by no means indicates that the entire denomination—which contains somewhat more than a hundred such conferences—is in agreement. But that there is significance in the resolution adopted by this conspicuous unit of the Methodist body can hardly be denied. No denomination has surpassed the Methodists in loyalty to and effort on behalf of prohibition. In the eyes of the wets the two words, "prohibition" and "Methodism," have been practically synonymous. Now to have a Methodist conference, while affirming its faith in prohibition as "the ultimate solution," declare that the present line of attack on the evils of the liquor traffic should be through the establishment of a public monopoly, both for manufacture and distribution, indicates that great shifts of opinion are taking place inside the Methodist ranks. Faced by the acknowledged excesses which have accompanied the return of legalized liquor, the New York Methodists have apparently concluded that the problem is essentially that of all private profit-making, heightened by the fact that in this case it is dealing with an industry which is anti-social in its effects. The Methodists of this conference therefore propose to shift their attack to the profit element. They are ready to

Council Of Churches Hears Answers To Questionnaire On War, Economic Situation

5-7-34

Representatives of the Amsterdam Council of Churches and others interested in the findings of the recent questionnaire sent out by Kirby Page, student of world affairs, met at a luncheon held this noon in the Y. M. C. A. to discuss the answers made by 20,000 Protestant clergymen and Jewish rabbis of the United States to questions on war and the present economic and political situation. Schuyler G. Voorhees, chairman of the committee of arrangements, presided.

After the luncheon, Charles U. Shellenberger briefly explained the survey conducted by Kirby Page among 100,000 ministers and theological students. The findings resulting from the survey were released by Mr. Page last week, and today, throughout the country, meetings are being held to discuss the survey.

The findings were presented by the Rev. Frank T. Rhoad, who gave the opinions of the 20,000 clergymen who answered the questions pertaining to war, and by the Rev. Ernest F. Tripp, who presented the answers to the questions concerning the economic and political status of the country. The poll of votes for and against the various questions showed the names of outstanding Protestant and Jewish leaders, both liberal and conservative.

More than 15,000 out of the 20,000 answers to the question, "Do you favor substantial reductions in armaments?" were in the affirmative, while 17,000 voted no to the question, "Do you favor military training in secondary schools?" More than 15,000 were in favor of the policy of armed intervention in other countries for the protection of United States citizens and interests. Nearly 14,000 voted affirmatively in answer to the question, "Do you believe that the churches of America should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war?" "Are you personally prepared to state that it is your present purpose not to sanction any further war or to participate as an armed combatant?" was answered in the affirmative by nearly 13,000. Nearly 9,000 voted no to the question as to whether the distinction between offensive and defensive war should be regarded as a basis for participation, while 7,500 voted yes.

Mr. Rhoad pointed out the fact that the findings of the questionnaire reveal that there are 14,000 ministers in the country who have gone the whole length in opposing war. How many will stand the test when the flags begin to wave and the bands begin to play is the ques-

tion. Mr. Rhoad considers the questionnaire as a wonderful piece of propaganda and said that we cannot reconcile the war system with the religion of Jesus Christ. It is a matter of education, he said, adding that we must make our people peace-minded.

The attitude on the political and economic situations naturally follows the attitude on peace and war. Mr. Tripp remarked in beginning his presentation of the second part of the discussion. In order for these ministers who have declared themselves against the war system to prove their sincerity, they would have to take a further step with regard to the whole economic order, because the present order is more or less tied up with the war system. We cannot get away from it until we have gotten away from the economic order, declared the editor of The Christian Century. As he read the questions, Mr. Tripp pointed out that the vote of the clergy was six to one in favor of a drastic limitation through the inheritance tax to the amount of wealth that may be inherited by an individual. The proportion was 15 to one in favor of a drastic limitation of the amount of the annual income through the income tax and other allied taxes, while the ratio was six to one in favor of a system of compulsory unemployment insurance under Government administration. The vote was five to one in favor of national unions of workers instead of local company unions. The vote was almost evenly divided in answer to the question, "Do you favor a system of private ownership of banks under Government regulation instead of a system of socialized banking as a public service?"

More than 18,000 voted in favor of a co-operative commonwealth as opposed to rugged individualism, or the capitalistic system as of 1929, in answer to the question, "Which economic system appears to you to be less antagonistic to and more consistent with the ideals and methods of Jesus and the noblest of the Hebrew prophets?" "If you favor a co-operative commonwealth, which of these five systems seems to you to offer the most effective method of achieving this end—drastic reformed capitalism, socialism, fascism, communism or some other political system?" was answered in various ways. More than 10,000 favored drastically reformed capitalism, more than 5,000 favored socialism, the vote in favor of fascism and communism was negligible, and 1,695 favored some other political system.

At the close of the two presentations, the meeting was thrown open for general discussion.

The Llano Colonist New Llano, La.



Preachers Repudiate War, Capitalism; Favor Unions

JOINING in the chorus of those who protest the making of wars on behalf of the merchants of death, 13,997 preachers have declared their belief that the churches of America should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war.

This statement was a part of a poll answered by 20,870 ministers on war and economic questions. The questioning was done by Kirby Page, an editor of *The World Tomorrow*, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City. There were 18,324 who voted for a co-operative commonwealth against 1035 who still favor rugged individualism or capitalism. Most favor drastically reformed capitalism, however, 10,691 voting thus as against 5879 for Socialism, 123 for Communism and 111 for Fascism.

Results from a similar poll in 1931 on the war question showed there had been a substantial shift toward a more aggressive anti-war attitude since that time. On the stringent question, "Is it your present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as an armed combatant?" the proportion of those who said yes was raised from 54% to 62% in three years. Faith has been lost in the League of Nations, only 48% favoring entrance as against 66% in 1931.

More startling is the attitude in the semin-

Wall Street In a Blue Funk

WALL STREET has the blues. The main reason is the collapse in retail sales since the slashing of CWA payrolls. New York stores report that sales are about on a par with April, 1933, or a bit lower in dollars—and that means nearly 30 per cent lower in physical volume. In nine of the first 13 months of the Roosevelt regime retail sales were below the comparable months of the Hoover regime, and doubtless the score changed to 10 of 14 months by the April record.

As a result of the retail collapse, the Silk Code Authority has ordered 900 mills, hiring 30,000 workers, to close down completely during the week of May 14 to 21. The employers were reluctant to take the step, but there was no alternative, the code authority explained; they simply can't sell the silk they have on hand. To evade wholesale closing, the rayon industry is slashing prices. One of the big companies recently announced a 10c a pound cut in quotations, others are debating closing down or following suit. Cotton textiles are also in collapse. Cotton prices have broken 1½c a pound in two weeks and again the rea-

son is that buying stopped. Manufacturers are meeting to discuss a general stoppage of all mills for one or two weeks.

The situation in textiles is typical. The nation as a whole is still buying less food than during the blackest days of 1932. Retail sales in most fields are well below pre-NRA days in physical volume although thoughtless readers are impressed by larger dollar volume. There is one exception—mail order sales are up. So Wall Street points out that sales improved generally when the government was pouring hundreds of millions into CWA wages and that sales have improved in the farm districts because the government is pouring hundreds of millions into AAA benefit payments. This all adds to the blueness because Wall Street does not like to pay taxes and sometime these billions are going to have to be collected.

To cap the climax, the stock market has gone down to a place where a popular stock market theory indicates that it is in for a long "bear market," that is a long period lasting for a year or more of the kind of thing that happened between 1929 and 1932. Starting from the present level that looks pretty disastrous to Wall Street. So the boys are going around humming "We're headed for the last round-up".

INDUSTRIAL UNEMPLOYMENT—GOOD OR BAD?

(Continued from page 3)

The Majestic Case Has Not Been Heard

Decisions of N. C. Cases Says They Are Similar.

May 16. In letters of inquiry abody (Majestic) been heard, Dr. led the Progressive e NRA packages, Counsel Dowell the

COAL LABOR, ION II w Post Office Bldg. ago, Ill. May 10, 1934. owell, rs of America,

concerning the u Quoin Case and on my desk for

will agree with me inadvisable to hold ow until the decis- l in the other cases d by the National rd. The issues in- ar and the decision n the action which ard takes.

truly yours, on A. Lapp, airman, Bituminous al Labor Board, vision II.

tends this case is a disagree and are won- was not the evident larity of facts in this d the delay. The fol- acts in this case:

No. 14, known as Du Quoin, Illinois, der the United Mine act but dues were the United Mine the 27th day of Dec- John Lewis revoked automatically throwing out of the Union.

I voted not to affiliate ressive movement until of April, 1933. On the the revocation of the Lewis, they instituted a get the books and mon- nk, claiming there was ng to the miners in

ent on to work and were ayor, the superintendent, a members of the Union, d that their charter had Lewis. He told them Provisional Union

Miners' Correspondence

Communications submitted for this column must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, as a matter of good faith, not to be printed if the writer prefers that it be omitted.

GILLESPIE LOCAL DECRIES "LEFT WING"; PLEDGES LOYALTY

RESOLUTION
GILLESPIE, Ill., May 9.—WHEREAS, in the April 30th issue of the Springfield State Register there appeared an article in reference to a May Day meeting, which said the meeting was sponsored by the Left Wing members of the P. M. A. It also gave the names of two of our members, who were listed as speakers at that meeting.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that it be known to the entire State of Illinois, that Local Union No. 1, of Gillespie, have never endorsed the Left Wing Movement, that Local Union No. 1 took no part in the May Day meeting referred to, and that John Battuello and Andrew Steed who are members of this Local, and two of the speakers listed, were not acting officially for this Local Union, and...

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we go on record as being opposed to any Left Wing movement within the P. M. of A. and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we give our duly elected officers, state and local our full cooperation in carrying out the business of the P. M. of A., according to our constitution, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we are in heartfelt sympathy with our striking brothers and stand ready to do all in our power to aid them in their time of trouble, and that we also invite bona fide correspondence from local unions in striking areas, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that Local Union No. 1, Gillespie, urge all brothers to give their full support to their local unions, and that we ignore the Left Wing policy a few individuals are trying to put over, that we take this means of letting the entire membership know our stand on this matter realizing there are people who are trying to mislead the rank and file, that this resolution will explain our position, knowing that "United We Stand, Divided We Fall", and that a copy of this resolution be published in the "Progressive Miner".

(Signed) Geo. W. Rademacher, Local Union No. 1.
Endorsed by Local Union No. 1, at the regular meeting May 9th.
Jas. Campbell, Rec. Secy.

LEFT WINGERS CONDEMNED BY SPRINGFIELD LOCAL

RESOLUTION
SPRINGFIELD, Ill., May 11.—Local Union No. 16, Progressive

Local Hugh Johnson said we were to get \$4.60 per day, but the company compromised for \$3.80.

When you send this literature I am asking for, please do not forget to state and explain why the United Mine Workers of America pulled away from John L. Lewis and went Progressive.

I will do anything I possibly can to organize a Progressive Union here. I am,

Yours truly,
A Sympathizer.

P. S.—We do have something in Alabama which we have never had before: We have to stand washer losses. One company just recently dumped over 1800 tons, and the men got paid for 1500 tons, which made almost 350 tons in washer losses. That was in the contracts which Mitch signed with the Company.

The Illinois Miners left the United Mine Workers of America for the same reasons and for the same identical causes that are happening in Alabama and, in fact, nearly all over the jurisdiction of the U. M. W. of A.

The constitutional rights of the Illinois miners were flaunted by Lewis and his provisionals and a contract was signed by them with the Illinois operators without the consent of the membership, completely ignoring a representative scale convention, our constitution and past precedents.

The Illinois U. M. W. of A., composed considerably of imported scabs, at present is ruthlessly ruled and dictated to by a gang of Lewis' provisional satraps.

The Progressive Miners have approximately 40,000 members. Our officials are all from the picks, everyone of whom was working in the mines when our union was organized.

The Alabama miners and those of other fields, if they believe in freedom and democracy, will have to do as the Illinois miners have done, i.e., break away, leave the old decadent autocratic dictatorship and form a union of their own choice, and then affiliate with the only honest-to-goodness miners' union in A.

PREACHERS FAVOR UNIONS AND REPUDIATE WAR

Oppose Capitalism and Military Training in Schools. Favor Drastic Limitation of Inherited Wealth and Incomes.

By FRANK L. PALMER

NEW YORK.—Joining in the chorus of those who protest the making of wars on behalf of the profits of the merchants of death, 13,997 preachers have declared their belief that the churches of America should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war.

This statement was a part of a poll answered by 20,870 ministers on war and economic questions. The question was done by Kirby Page, an editor of The World Tomorrow, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City. There were 18,324 who voted for a cooperative commonwealth against 1,035 who still favor rugged individualism or capitalism. Most favor drastically reformed capitalism, however, 10,691 voting thus as against 5,879 for socialism, 123 for communism and 111 for fascism.

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Oppose War

More startling is the attitude in the seminaries: 84 per cent declare the churches should now go on record as opposed to all future wars, 400 students are ready to declare themselves opposed to all future wars and refusing to participate, against 49 who fail to take that position and 47 doubtful on it. Four of 497 students favor the pre-1929 type of capitalism, 158 favor drastically reformed capitalism, 265 favor socialism, 12 communism and three fascism, the rest being doubtful or preferring some other system. More than half of the communist votes came from Union Theological Seminary, the Rockefeller project in connection with the ritzy Riverside Drive church in New York.

The proportion of those who distinguish between defensive and aggressive war has dropped among the

...with certain pro-
...ers whom he had op-
...cause the men had re-
...this Provisional Union,
...refused to let them

...plaint was the first com-
...fore the Divisional Coal
...Several inquiries have
...ing why that complaint
...heard by the Board
...t that a letter dated
...first reply.

...out 700 men in this
...pany started working
...e, 1933, or about the
...ode was enacted. A
...returned to work, but
...em are still standing
...ive cause and refuse
...e Lewis regime.
...ported there from
...nklin and Jackson
...d of them are men who
...d in a mine before—
...rs.

ney For nd Needy ork—Why?

— Simultaneous
...don and Washing-
...creases in British
...forces, have mom-
...he armament race
...Pacific to the At-
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...t forthcoming, as
...of War Harry H.
...r bids on eighty
...for the United
...hed a long-term
...war-plane pur-
...ne.

...all for the im-
...50 planes with
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...and the \$7,500,-
...or the air corps,
...rtisement for the
...350 planes to be
...5 appropriations
...0), and for 300
...all types to be
...36 appropriation
...0,000).

rts Of Materials

(P)—March ex-
...and steel, raw
...ers, "were the
...in any month,"
...t of Commerce
...mounting to 173,
...ounted for 66 per
...centage of iron and
...ported in the month.
...st, as usual, was the
...outlet for United States
...steel exports, March ship-
...hat area accounting for
...nt of the month's total."
...ort. "Europe, because of
...scrap, constituted the
...market with shipments
...35.7 per cent of the

Local Union No. 10, Progressive
Miners of America, in Regular
meeting held in the P. M. of A.
Headquarters located at 109 1-2
North Sixth street, voted to sup-
port the District Officers and Board
Members for their stand in follow-
ing out the plans and purposes of
the Progressive Miners of America.

Voted that "Left Wingers" be
condemned for their activities in
trying to disrupt and bring discord
among the members and officers of
the P. M. of A. the only clean-cut
union of coal miners in America,
that is faking progress for the
benefit of the rank and file.

Voted to furnish copies of the
above named motions to the press,
and the District Office and the Pro-
gressive Miner.

(Signed) John Redding, Pres.
Thomas Matthews,
Recording Sec'y.
814 E. Washington,
Local Union No. 16,
P. M. of A.

NOTICE

Local Union No. 4, P. M. of A.,
Belleville, Illinois, has expelled A. J.
Brown for 99 years.

Frank Fussner, Pres.
L. U. No. 4, P. M. A.
Belleville, Illinois.

A MESSAGE FROM ALABAMA

Wm. Mitch From Indiana Provisional
Satrap, Signs Contract Without
Consent of the Membership.
Republic, Alabama
May 13, 1934.

Editor, Progressive Miner.

Dear Sir:

Just a few lines to get in touch
with the Progressive Miners, and also
to explain to you what kind of treat-
ment we miners of Alabama, District
20, have received through our Presi-
dent, William Mitch.

I want some one to explain to me
how the men of Alabama coal fields
can have a Union and stand for the
way Mitch has treated us. He signed
contracts with these companies down
here whether it was satisfactory with
the men or not. The contracts say
there is to be no meeting on the com-
pany grounds; a volunteer check-off,
but there are very few volunteers;
also, there is to be no literature passed
over the camps. I certainly would ap-
preciate it if you would send me some
literature, and some copies, to the
list of names I have enclosed and ex-
plain to them why the U. M. W. of A.
in Illinois pulled loose from John L.
Lewis.

I am going to try, and try strong,
to get the Progressive movement
started here, so that we can get some-
thing for what we do instead of hav-
ing some man to sell us out. It has
been reported that an operator down
here said, that John L. Lewis would
break the union in this territory for
a price he set. I am for the Progres-
sive Miners and will do my part, and
more too, to get them organized.

These companies say they did not
sign contracts with the miners, but
that they did sign with Mitch. We
are in worse shape now than we were
before they started organizing. Gen-

Miners Union in Amer- ica, the Progressive Miners.— Editor.

The following open letter to
President Roosevelt has been endorsed
by several Saline County organiza-
tions. We publish it at their request.

Editor,
Harrisburg, Illinois.

HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
President of the United States of
America,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ROOSEVELT:

Please, for the sake of humanity
and our Nation, retire enough of the
non-consuming, productive, labor-
displacing machinery to allow man,
the consumer of the products of the
farm and factory, to have employ-
ment and a purchasing power.

Industry has exploited labor
through the medium of the machines
until labor is placed in the scrap
heap, with no purchasing or consum-
ing power. Unemployed labor has au-
tomatically deprived the farmer of
a profitable market and consequently
he has no purchasing or consuming
power. Now with these two great or-
ganizations without a purchasing and
consuming power, it is only sound
economics to realize and see that all
other branches of business and pro-
fessional endeavor will suffer.

If the industries could only see and
realize it, even though the machines
have created for them much wealth,
if they retain this machinery it will
make them poor again, for the
machines consume nothing and man,
with no purchasing and consuming
power, cannot buy the products of the
machine, and this situation heads in-
dustry for inevitable bankruptcy.
When industrial heads realize that the
consumer plays a very important part
in the success or failure of their busi-
ness, they should be glad to replace
the non-consuming machine with man,
the consumer of their product.

If stocks, bonds and real estate are
ever to return to their par value, if
the merchant, banker, lawyer, insur-
ance companies and their agents hope
to prosper, if the cities and states
hope to get back to normal, if the
schools, the churches, lodges, and civic
clubs hope to function, then it is ab-
solutely necessary to get labor em-
ployed at productive work.

With labor employed and with a
purchasing power, consumption will
start and this will automatically cre-
ate a profitable market for the farm-
er and he will have a purchasing and
consuming power. Now with labor
with employment and a purchasing
and consuming power and the farm-
er with a profitable market and a con-
suming power, it is only sound eco-
nomics to realize that all other
branches of endeavor, business and
professional, will prosper.

To restrict the production of the
vitals of human existence in order to
increase the price of farm products
with the consumer left with no in-
creased buying power, is very un-
wise and is approaching a man-made
famine. Unless we increase the pur-
chasing power of the consumer and
let the inevitable law of supply and
demand operate, the situation cannot

preachers from 43 per cent to 36 per
cent in three years.

The vote in favor of national un-
ions as against company unions was
11,304 to 2,567. By overwhelming
votes, the preachers favored limita-
tion of wealth and income by taxa-
tion. Drastic limitation of inherited
wealth was favored 16,567 to 1,754;
drastic limitation of income by 15,780
to 1,847. Compulsory unemployment
insurance under government adminis-
tration won by 13,218 to 2,617.

The nearest unanimous vote was
on the question of military training
in the schools. On this, 17,023 voted
no, 2,579 voted yes and only 973 were
in doubt.

The preachers are apparent-
ly getting more strongly op-
posed to the munitions trust,
the warmakers and the war
teachers. Hesitantly they also
move into the economic field
with opinions pro-labor and
even slightly pro-radical.

T. M. A. FILE COM- PLAINT WITH THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

improve. To save the farmer and the
A complaint is being filed with the
Attorney-General of the United
States containing copies of the sworn
statements of employees of the Pea-
body Coal Company, Union Colliery,
United Electric, Truax-Traer, Dorthel,
Old Ben Corp., Bell & Zoller, Chi-
cago, Wilmington & Franklin, and the
Valier Coal Company asking the At-
torney-General to institute proceed-
ings at law or in equity, prosecuting
and restraining the above coal com-
panies from violating Sec. 7a of the
NRA and Sec. A of Article 5 of the
code. In case the Attorney-General
refuses to act in the matter under the
law, it is the intention of the P. M. of
A. employees of these various compan-
ies to institute mandamus proceed-
ings to ascertain why he refuses to
direct his district attorneys to act.

It is the hope of the P. M. of A. in
this procedure to test the constitu-
tionality and validity of the National
Recovery Act. This request, filed with
the Attorney-General by President
Pearcy, will contain all of the pro-
ceedings held in various courts and
Bituminous Coal Boards.

It is hoped the Attorney-General
will deem the P. M. of A. complaint
of sufficient importance to direct the
attorneys to investigate P. M. of A.
complaints and to institute proceed-
ings.

industries, we must first save the con-
sumer.

Remove the loading machines from
the coal mines, complete all public
work with man power, take the tract
or off the farms, go into the various
industries and remove enough labor-
displacing machines to make employ-
ment for labor. This move, added to
the great NRA plan will restore
prosperity, and we ask of you, who
have the nation's destiny in your
hands, to retire the machines in time
of peace and end this depression.

Wishing you the most successful
administration.

Respectfully yours,
Louie J. Gaskins

"my country 'tis of thee—"

DIFFERENTIALS

MEMPHIS, TENN. — Southern workers at the spirited Tennessee State Federation of Labor Convention here declared they are not against a wage differential—if the Mason Dixon line is shoved down somewhere between Key West, Florida, and Cuba.

These workers, skilled and productive, insist they belong on the higher end of the differential and intend to force Washington to realize this.

Their convention was held last week. As a result of a series of resolutions, Secretary Cheek of the Federation bombarded Washington officials with telegrams protesting against the differential, and pleading for abolition of the dastardly system. Fred G. Held, vice-president of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers, attended the convention as delegate from the American Federation of Hosiery Workers.

George L. Googe, American Federation of Labor representative from Savannah, Ga., declared that Southern labor will "fight to the last ditch to curb the ripping of the 'heart and teeth' out of the Wagner Bill, C. W. Bolick, southern organizer for the Textile Workers, declared that he had seen fifty cent wages doled out for full fifty-five hour weeks to Columbus, Ga., workers.

Jake Cohen was elected president of the Federation. He is editor of the Labor Review. W. E. Cheek of Nashville, member of the Carpenters' Union, was elected secretary-treasurer. Former president Paul J. Aymon was made legislative representative of the Federation. The next convention will be held in Knoxville the first Monday in May of 1935.

SILK SLAVERY

PATERSON, N. J. (FP)—Conditions "worse than slavery" in some cases exist in "family shops" in the Paterson silk industry, which em-

In these shops, he explains, a man and his wife, having purchased a few looms, call in their children and other relatives to weave silk textiles. They work unlimited hours and the product is sold at low prices to a small group of converters, "whose offices are usually in their hats". Often these converters hold mortgages on the looms.

These family shops produce more than one-quarter of the silk products in Paterson, Kehoe states. The NRA silk code limits the workweek to 40 hours and bans employment of anyone under 16. But, Kehoe says, "it would take an army of policemen on constant duty to enforce the code provisions here."

WORKERS EDUCATION

NORRISTOWN, PA.—The Montgomery County Workers' Education Project is one of the few projects that is still functioning despite the retrenchment policy of the F. E. R. A.

The headquarters of the Project are located at 357 E. Main st., Norristown, and courses ranging from elements of English to Industrial Problems under the NRA are being offered without charge to workers within the county.

HOUSING

NEW YORK.—No windowless rooms for human habitation in 1939. This is the main plank in the housing platform for New York City proposed by Tenement Commissioner Post and liberal social workers.

A special train took an enthusiastic group to Albany to back the program. Planks also included: fire retardation of halls and stairways by 1936; a toilet for every family by 1936; power to demolish unused, dangerous buildings.

Harold Loeb, of the Continental Committee, commented that 90% of the American people live in low standard houses and that the nation's building industry has been operating at from 15% to 30% of capacity.

THE CHURCH

On War

NEW YORK (FP)—Joining in the chorus of those who protest the making of wars on behalf of the profits of the merchants of death, 13,997 preachers have declared their belief that the churches of America should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war.

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The vote in favor of national unions as against company unions was 11,304 to 2,567.

On Unions

NEW YORK (FP)—The New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, containing the richest churches in the denomination, has gone on record as opposing company unions.

In a ringing resolution asking Congress to make these company-controlled organizations illegal, the conference forcefully declared for "independent unionism", meaning independent of employer control.

The conference also declared for the "rapid extension of social ownership and democratic control of natural resources, distribution, and the means of production, exclusive of agriculture."

It declared that the New Deal is not sufficient to bring about a "Christian social order," opposed fascism, child labor and lynching; demanded extension of federal relief and more adequate treatment of the unemployed; and urged the legislatures of New York and Connecticut

have no representation as investors, union representatives complained at the code hearings for the telephone industry. Company union practices also got an airing.

A provision in the code prohibiting companies from using coercion in having employees purchase stock or sell it to others, was urged by Mary V. White, president of the Central States Council, telephone operators department of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Throughout the middle west, she said, small companies are being bought up at two or three times their actual earning value so that stock issues may be floated for the benefit of financiers. Workers are given to understand they are expected to buy some of this stock and make sales to their friends and families. This is particularly hard, Miss White stated, when employees believe the stock cannot possibly pay out on the investment.

"We come here as investors as well as employees," said Grace Barry, local president of the telephone operators, I.B.E.W., in Boston. "We supply capital to our employers and accept the risk of the investments while our destinies are governed by a board of directors upon which we should have representation." She urged the curbing of dial system change-over activities and the granting of a "dismissal wage" to laid-off employees.

A company union representative, Marguerite K. Hartnett of So. Portland, Maine, gave further evidence of the companies' methods. She admitted that she had worked only about "one-third of the time" in the last six months and that the company had paid her expenses on organizing trips. She also agreed that there were sometimes as many as 15 or 20 girls in Boston on company union work, with their companies footing the bill. She and other company union representatives supported the low-wage Bell code, as written.

NRA POLLS

Makes Good Race

BANGOR, Pa. — Homer Finkbeiner, President of Branch 25 and labor candidate for the General Assembly in the primary elections made a surprisingly good race in the first political effort made by the trade union movement in this county. Finkbeiner polled a total of about 3500 votes in the Democratic columns as against 4200 for the victor. On the Republican ticket Finkbeiner polled 2500 votes, a surprisingly large number on this ticket.

Branch 69 Meets

BOYERTOWN, Pa. — Boyertown Branch 69 will hold its regular meeting Saturday, May 26th, and sends out an urgent message through Recording Secretary Catherine Matz appealing for a large attendance at this meeting.

Branch 5 Delegates

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The delegates from Branch Five of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers to the national convention in Reading June 4 will be Edward Mallon, Walter Moring and Herman Schmidt.

Branch 29 Delegates

QUAKERTOWN, PA. — Quakertown Branch 29 will send as delegates to the national convention of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers Ruth Fluck and Clarence Rohrbach.

Branch 49 Delegates

WEST ORANGE, N. J. — William R. Seidel and Anthony R. Sekso will be the delegates from Branch 49 to the national convention of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers.

Branch 56 Delegates

SPRING CITY, Pa. — James Buchanan will be the Spring City Branch 56 delegate to the national

YOUNG PEOPLE

ELMER A. LESLIE

Professor in Boston University

June 3—Resources for Abundant Living

I. IN NATURE. LUKE 12:6, 7.

The Open Door to the Abundant Life

IT is clear that Jesus intended that His followers should live rich, full lives. In one of His most characteristic utterances He said,

I am come that ye might have life
And might have it more abundantly.

And it is likewise evident that He did not limit this abundant life to those who were materially well off. The Beatitudes were certainly not spoken to the socially elite. To become a Christian in genuine reality is to enter the open door into the abundant life.

Throughout four weeks the Leaguers of Methodism are invited to canvass the resources for such abundant living. We first turn to nature.

What the Birds Teach Us

Jesus was very sensitive to the spiritual lessons drawn from nature. Take the sparrows, for instance. They were used as food for the common people. They were very plentiful and very cheap. Yet, He says, upon those insignificant birds the care of God is expended. Relatively unimportant as they are, not one of them is forgotten. Their common lives are under the Eternal Father's eyes. If God expends His care upon these relatively worthless birds, will He not care for you and for me?

Similarly, Jesus saw the fowls of the air. They do not sow grain nor do they harvest it, yet God feeds them. Why then do we worry, with a type of anxiety which simply indicates our lack of trust, about what we shall eat or drink or wear? It is certainly not a lazy, shiftless life that Jesus is here commending, for birds are not lacking in industry. But the birds should teach us that we are all parts of the infinite plan and purpose of God.

The Instinctive Nature of Religion

The prophets have taught us to learn another great lesson from the birds, which puts new meaning into life. There is a deep-seated instinct that turns the birds southward in winter and northward in spring. This instinct they do not create. It is a law of their being and they merely follow it with the inevitability of life itself. Jeremiah drew the great analogy. What instinct is to the birds of passage, that religion is to man. Man does not create it, nor does religious education create it. Man finds it, discovers it, realizes it as a law of his being—only, he can heed and develop it, or ignore and lose it.

Periodicity

Nature has a great lesson to teach us through the seasons. It is the law of periodicity, one period following another in regularity and consistency. First comes winter. Foliage is gone, the processes of fruitbearing are in quiescence. Nature is asleep. We speak naturally of the "dead" of winter. But nothing is dead. In reality, winter is the season of mighty receptivity. The bare arms of the trees, the deeply penetrating roots are drinking in from rain, snow, and wind. Then

comes spring. The sap begins to run, and soon, as now, the earth is a veritable bower of beauty. Next comes summer, when all the promise and potency of spring comes to its climax. Finally comes the saddest season, of the year, the autumn. It is the season of ripeness of maturity. The saps of life begin to withdraw, but as they go they tinge the world with the glory of autumnal color. Fall is character brought to its height of development.

We cannot always be producing foliage or fruit. As Leaguers we need the winter of receiving from reading and observation if we will have the springtime freshness of aims and ideals. The full vigor of productive work needs the succession of a period of rest and quiet if we will do our best work.

Nature's Variety

Yesterday from early morning until late at night I rode through the Southland. There were mountains, hills, entrancing little

streams, beautiful valleys clothed in every imaginable shade of green, and foliage, rich and luxuriant everywhere.

Today as I write I am speeding across the great state of New York, through territory as level as I knew when a boy in central Illinois's "prairies verdant growing." And everywhere again there is visible the full glory of spring. The trees, the meadows, the flowing streams are all talking to me today.

Nature's variety can become, even as Bryant so sensitively felt, God's "language." Sometimes it is a speech of gladness, a melody of music, sometimes it is an utterance of solemnity, sometimes it is the lingo of sadness. Often it is like a balm, a mild and soothing sympathy that takes away the bitterness of life and the sharpness of our pain.

Yet all this can be as pagan as Greece unless we see nature from the Biblical angle as the garment, the utterance of God. It is God "who doth so clothe" the grass of the earth and so array the flowers of the field.

The Cross and the Flags

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE COMMISSION ON WORLD
PEACE

Miron A. Morrill

IT was a flash of homiletical genius. We have come to expect it, of course, from Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, pastor of Christ Church, New York, and chairman of the General Conference Commission on World Peace.

Rising for a brief address toward the end of the recent annual session of the commission, Dr. Sockman said that he had stood not long ago by the tomb of Napoleon. He lifted his eyes from the stands of battle-flags of the long ago to a spot above the exit and beheld a crucifix.

The world, he told us in his parable, must turn from its homage to military heroes and from its battle-flags to the cross of Christ. And no mere fleeting glance of a hurried tourist will suffice.

FOR many of us, Dr. Sockman summed up the three days of the joint session of the Peace Commission with the Committee on World Peace of the Board of Education and the annual Peace Institute looking forward to a summer of teaching in the Epworth League institutes. These groups came together in Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., from Monday evening, May 14, through Wednesday, May 16. Their sessions followed the Mid-West Conference on the International and Economic Crisis, which met for three days previously in Chicago. By this arrangement, the Methodists were enabled to hear many prominent figures in the peace movement. There were public sessions each of the three nights of the commission meeting.

Among those speaking were Dr. Sockman, Dr. Ernest Fremont Tittle, secretary-treasurer of the commission; Paul Hutchinson, Dr. Kirby Page, E. Ray Wilson of the Friends, Dr. Fred P. Corson of the commission, Rev. Walter W. Van Kirk, Harry Holmes of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, Charles Hart, one of the conscientious objectors against the R. O. T. C. at Ohio State University, and Dr. Garfield Cox of the University of Chicago.

The deliberations turned toward a root-and-branch repudiation of war, including a suggestion to the General Conference that it enact

legislation withdrawing ministers from the payroll of the government as chaplains. (At the same time, the commission suggests, the church must be willing to supply a religious ministry to military and naval personnel at its own expense and under its own direction.)

Here are some of the issues as they occurred to this observer:

Whole sections of the Christian church obviously have scant interest in peace. The peace crusade enlists many liberal Protestants.

What is the validity of analogy with Europe? If events in the United States are to follow the course apparent in Europe, then liberalism in both politics and religion is heading into eclipse. Hence, perhaps, a sense of desperate urgency in the conference.

There is realism amounting almost to pessimism—a pessimism against which Dr. Kirby Page and, in less degree, Mr. Van Kirk addressed themselves with vigor. The outlook for the peace of the world is dark. The church is fully aware of the strength of the war power.

There was a tendency to abstraction.

The commission has declared that war is a sin. It goes on, in logic, to recognize that the sin is, in reality, individual participation in the war system.

THE church is penurious in its provision for the peace propaganda. Dr. Merle

N. English, associate secretary of the Board of Education and generally recognized as Methodism's principal executive in the field of peace, reported that total receipts from the General Conference fund for ten months had been \$2278.04. The Board of Education added an appropriation of \$400. Members of the staff of the board have given of their time to the peace movement far in excess of what could reasonably be asked. These sums are not a gnat in the eye of one armament concern—name your own.

Since the church has not the funds to buy an approach to the public through the movies, the radio, and the press, and since it is to be doubted whether it could buy the services of these agencies, then its chief resort would

Editors Say

In this bankrupt age, men must listen to that cry: "Let your heart live!" Otherwise there is no hope. But is not our first duty to rethink the economic system under which we exist, to begin to work out a technique of living together, to provide for more leisure, in just a word to perfect a "planned society"? No, not first. Men need first to learn to love one another. Everywhere there is the clank of machinery, the clash of argument, the confusion of tongues, the bitterness of competition, the rumblings of coming wars. O man, let your heart live! Give the unseen realities of love, joy, peace, aspiration, prayer, and the spirit of unselfish service their chance.—*Zion's Herald*.

Sectarianism is essentially sinful when it leads any body of Christians to separate themselves in selfish isolation and pride, and despise others, thanking God that they are not as other Christians are. Jesus was confronted with such sectarianism and he scorned and scorched it with burning words.—*The Presbyterian Banner*.

Conflict in opinions, even of a most intense kind, may have a certain creative effect. It may help to keep the stream of life fresh, to prevent thinking from becoming stereotyped and uninteresting and unfruitful. And we do a very serious thing indeed when we attempt to make the thinking and the attitudes of the community to run in the carefully-chosen channels that suit ourselves.—*The New Outlook*.

The new generation evidently proposes to do its own experimenting with alcohol, and to reach its own conclusions without much regard for the old folks' advice. There can be no room for doubt where they will come out—just where their ancestors did two or three generations ago, when they were so infuriated by the ravages of drink among the best and most promising of youth, that they went the whole length of outlawing the traffic altogether.—*The Christian Advocate*.

We have a feeling that if the Great Galilean had come to earth once more and had passed by, he might have stepped into the ranks of those Communists on Beacon Hill, May 1, and paraded with them, not because he accepted all their ideas or approved their doctrines of violence, but from an infinite pity, and out of a conviction that there are great wrongs that men of goodwill must set right, and because even these least, judged from our social standards, are our brethren, too.—*The Christian Leader*.

The May Meetings are upon us with their annual survey of the situation and their streams of eloquent talk. Good resolutions enough to pave half-a-dozen hells will be passed with acclamation, and delegates will return to their homes with a self-satisfied glow as though they had accomplished something. But what is to be the next step? Resolutions, however unanimous, cut no ice. What is needed is a new fighting spirit in the rank and file of the churches. Much of our religious profession is still too comfortable and self-centered. People join churches because there is something that attracts them in the services, or the minister, or the people. They ought to join up as recruits join an army—in order to fight the enemy. There is a moral equivalent for war, and Christians, of all men, should be the first to recognize it.—*The Christian World*.

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Who's Who in This Issue

Thomas H. Wright is Congregational minister at Cresskill, N. J. He is a keen student of economic facts and conditions as they affect spiritual values and social welfare.

Howard J. Chidley is minister of First Congregational Church, Winchester, Mass.

Hugh Vernon White is a secretary of the American Board.

Herbert D. Rugg is a Congregational minister and journalist, associated with the General Council office.

Thomas Curtis Clark, a frequent contributor of poetry, is associated with the business department of *The Christian Century*.

Edwin C. Gillette is Congregational Christian Superintendent in Florida.

News Jottings

Dr. Robert E. Lewis, formerly in Y. M. C. A. work in Cleveland and China, and latterly adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China, is, with Mrs. Lewis, returning to America on home leave this month. His address will be c/o Chinese Legation in Washington, D. C. Dr. and Mrs. Lewis hope to renew acquaintances with the many people in our fellowship, especially in Boston and Cleveland, where they resided for some years.

The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky., recently celebrated its 75th Anniversary. An interesting feature was the participation in the celebration of P. H. Callahan, who was introduced as one of America's outstanding Roman Catholic laymen, and Rabbi Rauch. Referring to their common presence, Mr. Callahan, in a brilliant address, spoke of the debt of Christianity to Judaism in the worship of God the Father and in the preservation of the revelation of God through the Prophets. He linked the work of Roger Williams in Rhode Island with that of Lord Baltimore in Maryland.

A national world peace movement is being inaugurated by Former Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, and being given general publicity by the League of Nations Association. A world peace petition is to be circulated, which reads: "We sign this petition to let the administration know it can rely upon the united support of millions of Americans when it finds opportunity to associate America with those who are seeking to co-ordinate the modern peace machinery and improve it by revision of the Covenant so that it will be effective to prevent an international calamity from which we, with the rest of mankind, must suffer unpredictable griefs."

Historic significance may attach to the two-day conference on war and economic injustice, at Broadway Tabernacle Church, New York, on May 8 and 9. Over 300 ministers, social workers and laymen attended. Discussion centered around the replies of 20,870 ministers to the questionnaire on war, sent out by *The World Tomorrow*. Those who attended report the tremendous effect of the addresses by Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick and Norman Thomas. Mr. Thomas linked the cause of peace with the preparation of "a society to which peace is appropriate, as it is not appropriate today." He assured the churchmen that the outlook from every standpoint was dark unless they could "discover a dynamic to relieve the world of the feeling that violence is inevitable." Dr. W. P. Merrill sounded the same note in his insistence that war could be abolished only through "a determination to make honor, justice, goodwill and regard for the general welfare the dominant considerations in the organized life of mankind."

Dr. Hugh S. Magill, General Secretary of the International Council of Religious Education, has resigned from the presidency of the American Federation of Utility Investors. In a lengthy and most disingenuous statement he attributes his resignation to overwork, and suggests that criticism of his holding the dual positions has nothing to do with his action. Nevertheless he devotes a large part of the statement to an attack upon "some religious editors." If anybody thinks there is occasion for reply he will find it in a few brief, pointed words in which Editor Hartman, in *Zion's Herald* of May 16, says all that is necessary.

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May 23, 1934

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The New Outlook

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ERNEST H. LAWSON
Advertising and Circulation Manager.

THE WORLD FOR A WEEK

Desecration of Mother's Day

THE celebration of Mother's Day in the national capital of the United States was made the occasion of an appeal for preparedness for national defence by Rear-Admiral Woodward. Speaking at the annual memorial service conducted at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the American War Mothers, the admiral told of failure of the nations to disarm, and made this the excuse for a militaristic outburst on the folly of disarmament and the need for preparedness as the only pathway to continued peace: "No one sincerely believes that we have seen the last great conflict. There never was a time when there was more need for a vigilant watchfulness as to the security of our nation than the present." He urged the expansion of the navy to treaty limits, and enactment of the necessary legislation to build to the strength authorized by the National Defence Act. The tragic lack of imagination, so characteristic of the military mind, is glaringly evident throughout the admiral's address. Even a slight sense of humor would surely have saved him from the folly of a speech such as we quote here: "Many of you to whom I speak are mothers, wives, widows, daughters or close relatives of those who fought on land or sea for the ideals and integrity of our country, including descendants of those who gave us the liberty, freedom and justice we now enjoy as a nation. Across some of your thresholds lingers the shadow of the World War, the Spanish-American War and the Civil War. After all, throughout the generations the women of our families have accepted their responsibilities beside their menfolk. They are the ones who suffer the mental anguish and carry the load of the nation in time of war. Their heritage has ever been tears, and consequently it is they who have the right to demand that measure of preparedness which means national security." There were many foolish and unworthy features in Mother's Day celebrations, we are sure, but this must have been the world's worst attempt at doing honor to motherhood.

Scotland Alarmed

SCOTLAND is gravely concerned over questions of race and religion, according to a report just published by the Scottish Council of Churches. The Council urges the General Assembly, meeting in Edinburgh, to consider most earnestly what steps can be taken to remedy a situation that is fraught with danger to Scotland. And here is the situation as the Council sees it: "The population every year is becoming less Scottish in blood, tradition and religious attachment; the balance of population between urban and rural elements is unhealthy and needs to be corrected; more than 1,100,000 adults in Scotland have no religious affiliation, and about 150,000 children of school age are not connected with any church or Sunday School." The Roman Catholic community is declared to be increasing, but only ten per cent. are of Scottish blood. The number of children in non-Roman Catholic homes is gravely diminishing, hence the population as a whole is steadily aging. In 1933 only 86,546 children were born in Scotland, 50,000 fewer than in 1920 and 47,000 fewer than thirty years ago. The Council therefore invites the Church to "consider whether the preserving of the numerical predominance of the Scottish race in Scotland isn't a distinct call to the churches to be faithful in proclaiming and teaching the Scriptures and that marriage and parenthood are ordinances of God." In 1931 the population of Scotland was 4,842,554. The birth-rate in 1933 was the lowest on record, according to the president of the Board of Registrars.

Investigating the Armament Firms

LAST year the Women's League of Nations Association obtained the co-operation of the League of Nations Society Toronto Branch, the Churches, the National Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the W.C.T.U., the Home and School Club, I.O.D.E., National Council of Women, ex-service men and many other organizations in urging the Canadian Government to urge the control of private manufacture of armaments. Australia, Africa and New Zealand joined with Canada in forwarding this campaign, and when the Canadian delegation spoke strongly at Geneva in favor of the

measure congratulations came from many British peace societies. This year these advocates of world peace are anxious that Canada should ask the British Government to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the private manufacture of arms, similar to the Commission appointed by the United States Senate. Rev. Dr. T. Albert Moore, Moderator of The United Church of Canada, has written to Premier Bennett supporting this request, but it is important that the Canadian Government should be aware of the strength of feeling that is

The City of Abraham

What an historical romance is this Ur of the Chaldees—Abraham's city, although it goes back far beyond the patriarch's day. The story as told by Mr. Woolley's excavations takes us back to the prehistoric period of the Sumerian race, and the Sumerian civilization of six thousand years ago. As we have said, the story of Ur goes back far beyond the Flood; the successive excavations went down and down to ever lower levels, until, as Mr. Woolley says, "we are down in the ruins of that Ur which existed before the Flood."

The city that was Ur lies some two hundred and twenty miles south of Baghdad, and a hundred and sixty miles from the head-waters of the Persian Gulf. In the First Dynasty of Ur, which is dated about 3100 B.C., Ur was the capital of all the south country and must have been a very rich and prosperous city; not a city of mud huts and reed shelters, but containing permanent buildings solidly constructed, the town of a civilized people. About 2000 B.C. "the population of Ur, if we judge by the extent of the ruins, which, including walled town and suburb, cover an area of some four square miles of closely packed houses, must have numbered well over half a million souls." To-day it is desolation, without ruins even that are above ground.

But for the facts revealed by the excavations at Ur during the last dozen years we should have remained ignorant about many details of this great civilization, and the cause of the disappearance of the royal city itself. Mr. Woolley has established the fact of the great Flood of Sumerian history and legend. In the excavations of 1929 the ruins of Ur had been dug up, the tombs of the ancient kings discovered and much treasure and valuable material of first-class historical importance. The diggers stopped when they struck clean virgin clay soil. It was thought that the work was done.

To make quite certain, however, Mr. Woolley in the following season resumed the work and set his Arabs to digging through this eight solid feet of clean clay. Then, behold! more remains, unmistakable evidence of an older settlement, in fact, the original Ur of an age before the Flood. The explanation is that this original Ur had met overwhelming disaster in which it had been buried completely—the Flood on which is based the story of Noah. This deluge, or inundation, was a local disaster confined to the lower valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, affecting an area perhaps four hundred miles long and one hundred miles wide; "for the occupants of the valley that was the whole world!"—John O'London's Weekly.

behind it. The Women's League of Nations Association suggests that "if every Conference will send a letter to the Premier and the Leader of the Opposition, and if ministers will encourage their congregations to write to the members of parliament of their constituencies, it will have a threefold effect. It will stimulate action on the part of the advocates of good will, it will insure the interest of the Government, and it will deserve the thanks of peace-loving people in Britain."

The Defence of Canadian Youth

IN line with the action of United Church bodies throughout the province and the Dominion, the Niagara Falls Presbytery, on May 8th, adopted resolutions deploring the action of the Canadian Senate in passing the Sweepstakes Bill and urging the House of Commons to defeat it; deploring the action of the Ontario Government in seeking to make the sale of wine and beer easier; urging more temperance instruction among the young people of The United Church, and deploring the action of Canadian Senators in advocating the withdrawal of Canada from the League of Nations. The Presbytery also passed a resolution approving of the investigation being made by Hon. H. H. Stevens, and urging that it be made as impartial and far-reaching as possible, which would indicate that "Parliament is still the champion of the rights of all people."

The Church and War

TWELVE religious bodies co-operated in questioning United States clergymen regarding the relation of the Church to war. Of the 20,870 replies received, 13,997 asserted that it was time for the Churches of the nation to go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war. Of the remainder 5,208 signified an opposite stand, and 2,503 were in doubt. Here are some other questions asked, and the replies received: Do you favor the immediate entrance of the United States into the League of Nations? Yes, 10,101; no, 5,987; in doubt, 4,138. Do you favor military training in our public, high schools and civilian colleges or universities? Yes, 2,579; no, 17,023; in doubt, 973. Do you favor substantial reductions in armaments, even if the United States is compelled to take the initiative and make a proportionately greater reduction than other nations are yet willing to do? Yes, 15,985; no, 3,260; in doubt, 1,294. Do you believe that the policy of armed intervention in other lands by our government to protect the lives and property of American citizens should be abandoned and protective efforts confined to pacific means? Yes, 15,598; no, 2,728; in doubt, 2,152. Could you conscientiously serve as an official army chaplain on active duty in wartime? Yes, 8,534; no, 8,014; in doubt, 3,779.

Southern Methodism Speaks

THE new social creed adopted by the forward-looking twenty-second quadrennial General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, declared against child labor, for a shorter working week and day, a living minimum wage, protection of women in industry, unemployment insurance, old-age insurance, the right of organization by employees and employers, collective bargaining, a fairer distribution of wealth and a better deal for tillers of the soil. The creed does not mention the New Deal by name, but they are fundamentally the same. The Conference came out also for repudiation of war, drastic reduction of armaments, participation in international agencies for the peaceable settlement of all controversies, and for the building of a world co-operative order. Southern Methodism is still dry, and there was a paragraph in the report for the "protection of the individual and society from the social, economic and moral waste of any traffic in intoxicants and habit-forming drugs." Applause and shouts of approval reverberated as a proposal for the unification of all Methodists was almost unanimously adopted. The growing sentiment for unification received an impetus from a telegram from Josephus Daniels, Methodist layman of North Carolina and now American Ambassador to Mexico. "May I venture to hope," Ambassador Daniels telegraphed, "that this Conference will advance not only the unification of all branches of our Church, but also strengthen the unity of the Church militant." Under the plan approved by the delegates, a commission of five bishops, ten ministers and ten laymen will treat with the Methodist Episcopal Church, from which it was separated in 1844 over the issue of slavery, and the Methodist Protestant Church, for a general unification by 1944.

MAY 3, 1934

MINISTERS VOTE 18 TO 1 AGAINST 'INDIVIDUALISM'

'Co-operative Commonwealth' Wins With Service Motive In Questionnaire

By a vote of 18 to one, approximately 20,000 Protestant and Hebrew clergymen Thursday were on record as favoring a "co-operative commonwealth" as opposed to capitalism as exemplified in "rugged individualism" in the United States prior to 1929."

Only 1035 voted for old-style capitalism, while 18,324 voted for the co-operative commonwealth, "in which the service motive is predominant in individual life and in all social arrangements."

The voting, in which Toledo and northwestern Ohio were represented, was in connection with a questionnaire sent out by Kirby Page, New York, noted Christian Socialist. In all, 20,870 ministers responded.

Columbus Man To Speak.

Their answers probably will form the basis for discussion at a meeting of the Toledo Ministers' association Monday morning, along with the answers to a series of questions on war. The latter were made public Wednesday by Mr. Page.

Monday morning's meeting also is to consider the question of Protestant unity with Rev. B. F. Lamb, Columbus, secretary of the Ohio Council of Churches of Christ and a leading unity advocate, as the principal speaker.

The ministers, who favored drastic limitation of wealth and income, compulsory unemployment insurance under government supervision and national unions as opposed to company unions, did not favor a socialistic government for their co-operative commonwealth.

Toledoans Want Reform.

Socialism drew 5879 votes, slightly more than half of the 10,691 which went to "drastically reformed capitalism." Fascism, as in Italy, drew 111 votes; communism, as in Russia, obtained 123. Some 1695 favored various other governmental forms.

Rev. Theodore F. Adams, pastor of the Ashland Avenue Baptist church, and Rev. George W. Speer of the Central Christian church, were among those voting for drastically reformed capitalism. No Toledo pastor is listed among the advocates of Socialism.

The only other Toledoans listed by name are Rev. Clarence H. La Rue of the Monroe Street Methodist Episcopal church, who voted for drastic limitation of incomes, and Rev. Harlan M. Frost, secretary of the Toledo Council of Churches of Christ, who voted for government ownership of banks.

Division on Banks Close.

The clergymen were closely divided on this question. Seventy-two hundred voting for private ownership of the banking system, 6974 for public ownership and 5309 listed as in doubt.

There was no such division, however, in the matters of drastic limitation of wealth and of income, of unemployment insurance and of

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CLERICS REFUSE TO SANCTION OR ENGAGE IN WAR

12,904 Out of 20,870 Jews
and Protestants De-
clare Stand

Publication Wednesday of the answers to a questionnaire sent by Kirby Page, New York, noted Christian Socialist, to 20,870 Protestant and Jewish clergymen indicated that 12,904 of the clergymen personally prepared to state it their present intention not to sanction any future war or participate in any war as an armed combatant.

The answers, which included those of several clergymen in Toledo and northwestern Ohio, also showed that 13,997 believed churches should go on record now as refusing to sanction or support a future war.

There was opposition in both instances. There were 4638 answers listed as opposing the proposition that the churches should go on record as refusing sanction and support for war while 5208 clergymen would not state that they would not sanction any future war or participate in it as an armed combatant. In both cases, about 2000 answers were listed as in doubt.

Subject of Meeting Here.

The results of these questions and others on war and peace and of a series of questions on economic questions, answers to which are to be made public by Mr. Page Thursday, probably will be one of the principal topics of discussion at a meeting of the Toledo Ministers' association Monday morning.

The question of Protestant unity probably also will come before the meeting. Rev. B. F. Lamb, Columbus, secretary of the Ohio Council of Churches of Christ, will be the principal speaker.

More than 10,100 of the pastors queried by Mr. Page favored immediate entrance of the United States into the league of nations, while 5987 opposed it and 4138 were listed as in doubt.

Oppose R. O. T. C. Plan.

More than 17,000 opposed military training in public high schools, civilian universities or colleges, while 2579 favored it and 973 were in doubt.

Substantial reductions in armaments, even if the United States has to lead the way and to make a proportionately greater cut than other nations, are favored by 15,985, while 3260 oppose such cuts and 1294 are in doubt.

A question, "Do you believe that the policy of armed intervention in other lands by our government to protect the lives and property of American citizens should be abandoned and protective efforts confined to pacific means?" brought 15,598 affirmative answers, 2728 negative answers. Listed as in doubt are 2152.

Chaplain Question Is Split.

The clergymen split almost equally on the question of whether they could conscientiously serve as official army chaplains in war time.

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8334 voting affirmatively with 8014 answering negatively. Some 3700 were listed as in doubt.

There was another close split on the question of whether the distinction between "defensive" and "aggressive" war was sufficiently valid to justify clergymen in sanctioning or participating in a future "war of defense" with 8813 voting "No!" and 7517 voting "Yes." Approximately 3580 were in the "In Doubt" column.

Dr. Stockdale Quoted.

Dr. T. W. Fessenden, pastor of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal church and president of the Toledo Council of Churches of Christ, voted that he was not prepared personally to state if his present determination not to sanction any future war or to participate in that war as an armed combatant. Also in this group was Dr. Allen A. Stockdale, former pastor of the First Congregational church here and now of Washington, D. C.

Dr. Lewis H. Schuh, a pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran church, was listed among those favoring substantial reductions in armaments even if the United States is compelled to take the initiative and to make a proportionately greater reduction than other nations.

Preparedness Is Safeguard.

Rev. Carl A. Wiederanders, pastor of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran church, commented as follows on the disarmament question:

"Preparedness is the best safeguard of peace. To disarm radically in the face of huge military programs, shady politics and obvious sincerity of some nations would look like a fool's policy. Might as well begin at home by tearing down prisons, dismissing the police and saying to the gangster, 'Now, be a good boy!'"

Rev. Ray McClure, Methodist, of Napoleon, said in favoring the church's immediate going on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war:

"I believe that, if all churches would unite with the Quakers in this stand, war would be impossible."

In Elmore, Rev. Karl W. Scheufler, also Methodist, answered the question as to whether he was personally prepared to state that it was his present purpose not to sanction any future war or to participate as an armed combatant by saying:

"Yes. I speak as the chaplain of Post 279, Department of Ohio, American Legion."

The reason for the close split on whether or not service as a chaplain is justifiable after the decided anti-war votes was found in the statement of a Goshen, Ind., Methodist, the Rev. Edward G. Wahl:

"Does not the condemned prisoner have the spiritual services of a chaplain? To be an official chaplain does not necessarily carry an approval of war, any more than to be an official prison chaplain carries an approval of crime."

MAN HELD IN ROBBERIES

Cloyd Walls, 27, of Continental, O., arraigned in Municipal Judge Edgar Norris' court on two charges of gas station robbery, was bound over to the grand jury on \$2500 bail. Walls was released in December from a five-year sentence for robbery.

FIRE HITS PARKS BUILDING

Fire resulting from spontaneous combustion caused \$25,000 damage Tuesday night to the first floor of the building occupied by the A. P. Parks Co., 122 Southard avenue.

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Fund \$52,477 Short;
Workers Will Rally
Again May 21 for New
Drive.

Some Pass Quota

Many Sections Exceed
Sums of Year Ago;
Industrial Total Is 142
Thousand.

Community Chest workers turned in \$127,460 at their report last night in the Chamber of Commerce and being \$52,477 short of the goal sought to keep the 38 social agencies of the city in operation for 1934 pledged to meet again on May 21 for a supplementary effort to reach the goal.

Each of the three major sections of the card team group headed by Isaac Kinsey, Jr., went over the top on its quota and raised \$112,000.

Industrial Total \$112,000
The industrial divisions headed by R. L. White turned in \$42,822 last night reaching a total of more than \$142,000 but this was somewhat short of the estimate for this group. Many individual sections in the group made noteworthy gains.

The special gifts section headed by J. D. Biggers reported \$65,807 on its last report bringing its total to \$275,619.

Response Unanimous

Sinclair Walbridge, general chairman, in announcing the total of \$527,189 achieved last night declared that each member of the special gifts section had pledged to continue efforts and he urged all the workers to meet again May 21. There was unanimous response.

"It is a shame to permit these 38 agencies here which share in our Community Chest to go through another year on the basis of last

Continued on Page 2, Seventh Column

es on Plan arathon Dance

Despite Krieger's Talk Walkathon

of no charge that might be placed against the person or persons he might arrest.

Probate Judge Charles Chittenden, who issued a dance hall license to the proprietors of Willow Beach last March but who declared the license did not permit the holding of a marathon dance, was reached by telephone at his home last night.

"If the marathon is held I'll exercise my right to revoke the dance hall license the first thing in the morning," the judge declared.

Judge Chittenden was known to oppose such spectacles and his indignation had been aroused, as well as that of many citizens by the

Continued on Page 2, Fourth Column

Heflin Is Trailing In Alabama Vote

Former Senator Third in Primary Race

Birmingham, Ala., May 1 (AP)—A nip and tuck race was being run tonight between former Gov. Bibb Graves, of Montgomery and Frank Dixon, Birmingham attorney making his first major campaign, in today's Democratic primary, with Judge Leon McCord holding close enough to push both leaders.

The count from 204 out of 2,140 ballot boxes in the state gave Graves 7,599; Dixon, 6,102, and McCord, 4,604.

Former Senator J. Thomas Heflin was falling behind in his attempted comeback in the fifth congressional district against Congressman Miles B. Allgood and Major Joe Starnes of Guntersville. The count on five boxes out of 246 in the district gave Starnes a lead with 600 votes; Allgood 483 and Heflin third with 349.

Four British Army Fliers Die in Crash Planes in Collision Over Cranwell Airdrome

Cranwell, Eng., May 1 (AP)—Four Royal air force officers were killed today when two airplanes collided over the airdrome and smashed to earth. All four were dead when emergency squads reached the wreckage.



Virginia Bruce

Hollywood, Calif., May 1 (Universal).—John Gilbert, screen actor, and his fourth wife, Virginia Bruce Gilbert, titian-haired film actress, have arranged a settlement preparatory to the filing of divorce papers tomorrow. Custody of their child, nine-month-old Susan Ann, was given the mother.

Group Scores School Drill

Toledo Pastors Strong in Opposition to Militarism

Thirty-one of 34 Toledo clergymen are opposed to military training in public high schools and civilian colleges, and 19 of the 34 are personally prepared to state it is their present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as armed combatants.

These findings are revealed in replies made public today to a national questionnaire sent out recently by representatives of 12 religious bodies. The number of clergymen who answered totals 20,870.

Strong Sentiment

Results of the national survey show 12,904 American clergymen, or 62 per cent of those replying, have declared their determination not to sanction or participate in any future war and 17,023, or 82 per cent, are opposed to military training in schools.

Reductions Favored

Among those replying from Toledo who are willing to sanction war or participate, according to the announcement of the results of the questionnaire, is Dr. Thomas W. Fessenden, pastor of St. Paul's M. E. church and president of the Toledo Council of Churches.

It is the conviction of some 14,000 ministers, according to an analysis of the survey, that the churches should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war. Approximately 16,000 favor substantial reductions in armaments even if the United States is compelled to take the initiative and make a proportionately

Continued on Page 2, Second Column

Serenity, May Day Labor Meeting Go Hand-in-Hand

Ferocity Lacking in Songs So McKinley Keeps Eyes Front at Courthouse Park

By CHESTER MORTON

A May pole with fluttering white ribbons held by white-dressed dancing girls was the only thing lacking to complete the utter serenity of the May day labor demonstration yesterday afternoon in Courthouse park.

Several hundred marchers, representing some 20 organizations, paraded in straggling lack of design to meet in front of the courthouse at 4 p. m.

The most ferocious song sung by

Arrest Discloses World Oil Intrigue

Woman Held on Charge of Impersonation

New York, May 1 (Universal).—An international intrigue, involving some of the richest oil fields in the world and centering about Boris Said, powerful oil broker, was disclosed today as federal agents arrested Mrs. Helen Dobush-Lototsky on charges of impersonating a federal officer.

As the woman was being arraigned and held in \$2,000 bail, Said told reporters of a visit to his office by a blonde woman and man who said they were department of justice agents and demanded per-

Parties Split

Compromise With Creditors Is Provided; Municipalities May Get Right To Ask Court Approval of Debt Plans

Washington, May 1 (AP)—The senate today passed the municipal bankruptcy bill, long sought by debt-burdened cities as a way back to solvency through compromise with their creditors.

Party lines were broken on a 45 to 28 vote. Thirty-three Democrats and 12 Republicans supported the bill, while 14 on each side of the aisle voted against it.

The measure which passed the house in the special session now goes to conference with the house. Senate changes were made to tighten the bill to protect minority creditor groups.

As it passed the senate the bill would provide that during an emergency period of two years cities and local taxing units might petition federal courts for approval of debt-composition plans that have received the indorsement of holders of 50 per cent of outstanding obligations.

Robinson Urges Bill

After favorable action by the court, acquiescence of holders of two-thirds of each class of obligations and of three-fourths of the total in the settlement proposed would render it binding on all creditors.

The bill's passage followed an appeal by Senator Robinson, Arkansas Democrat, majority leader, in which he asserted thousands of persons unable to pay taxes would be driven from their homes unless given relief.

The bill was vigorously championed and as bitterly denounced on both sides of the chamber.

2,000 Default

Proponents pointed to defaults by more than 2,000 taxing units and said the number threatened to increase rapidly without legislation.

Opponents asserted the number of units in default was less than one per cent on the total, and said the measure would open the door to debt repudiation.

Representative Wilcox, Florida Democrat, introduced the original bill in the house.

Immediately after disposing of

Continued on Page 2, Third Column

Roosevelt Vetoes Postal Wage Bill

President Opposed To Minimum Pay Plan

Washington, May 1 (AP)—In vetoing a bill fixing minimum wages for postal substitutes, President Roosevelt today informed congress increased revenues were providing more work for the substitute carriers who have been idle in many instances.

He vetoed the legislation on the ground that it "is contrary to public policy in that it provides compensation to a certain class of employees regardless of the need for their services."

"It is discriminatory and establishes a precedent which, if followed, would undoubtedly lead to many abuses," he added.

May 13 Proclaimed Mother's Day in Ohio

Columbus, O., May 1 (AP)—Gov. George White today proclaimed May 13 as Mother's day in Ohio.

WILL ROGERS—

Says Filipinos Are in Doubt About Freedom

San Francisco, May 1
—I see by the papers today that there is some talk of Russia paying. And that's on a debt this Russian government didn't contract.

They owe 700 million, and we may get 200 million. Be a good joke on everybody if the Communists turned out to be the only ones you could trust.

The Philippines are voting today on whether they want freedom or not. They were in favor of it till they sent a commission over here and saw what it was all about.

Hours Drag For Robles; Ask Contact

Child Kidnapers Keep Silence; Appeal Published

Tucson, Ariz., May 1 (AP)—The family of June Robles watched the hours drag by today without producing a word or sign that the little girl still was alive or that her kidnapers were ready to accept \$15,000 ransom.

Gloom and hope held sway alternately as Bernabe Robles, grandfather, and Mr. and Mrs. Fernando Robles, the parents, waited for the abductors to transmit answer to four intimate questions that could come only from the lips of the girl or a member of the immediate family.

Questions Profounded

In a public appeal to the abductors to make arrangements for negotiations and delivery of the demanded, the father propounded the questions in the hope that the kidnapers would show them to 6-year-old June and relay the answers as proof that she still lived. They were:

"What do you do with your bunnies in the morning?"

"What do you call Corney?"

"What is the name of Betina's maid?"

"Where is your little box with the key in it?"

Asks Piece of Dress

The father also requested the abductors send him a piece of little June's dress as further evidence.

In view of the Robles appeal assuring the abductors all federal, state, city and county officers had been ordered to step aside, leaving the family a free hand to negotiate, Robles expressed the hope the kidnapers would become convinced of the sincerity of the capitulation.

Notre Dame Head Is Critically Ill

Last Sacraments Given The Rev. O'Donnell

South Bend, Ind., May 1 (AP)—The Rev. Charles L. O'Donnell, C. S. C., president of the University of Notre Dame, today received the last sacraments of the Roman Catholic church, following a relapse in the illness with which he has been afflicted more than a year.

He was stricken in March, 1933, with an infection in the left lung

Continued on Page 2, First Column

Another deals with restricting the liabilities of bankers to the actual amount underwritten. High executive officers of the government think the opposition to the law has been fomented by lawyers, but in order to foster business improvement they are eager to put through the program of liberalizing amendments.

Tariff Bill Pressed

Moreover, in order to raise business volume, the Roosevelt administration is eager to put through the reciprocal tariff bill. The president, it is understood, believes there are opportunities to expand total trade by dealing with specific situations, rather than with grandiose, theoretical conceptions.

The bill gives the president the

Continued on Page 3, Seventh Column

Youth Badly Hurt In Tumbling Stunt

Toledoan Falls on Neck During Practice

Earnest Makely, 19, of 654 Raymer boulevard, was injured critically last night when he fell on his neck during a gymnastic stunt in Navarre park.

The youth, with four companions, had been practicing a tumbling act and hand-springs for a half hour when he fell. He leaped into the hands of James LaPlante, 20, of 739 Valleywood drive, and was thrown over the latter's head



Earnest Makely when he fell on his neck.

Others who were practicing the stunts were Charles Null, 20, of 625 Raymer boulevard; Carl Voegeli, 19, of 633 Raymer boulevard, and William Johnson, 18, of 1416 Nevada street.

Johnson called his father who took the injured youth to St. Vincent's hospital. Attendants said his neck may be broken. His legs were paralyzed.

The youth, son of Mr. and Mrs. Aloysius Makely, has been practicing tumbling in a gymnastic class at the Newsboys' building. He is a senior at Vocational school.

Eight Druggists Are Facing Charges

Eighteen warrants, sworn out by Alvah Corwin, state agent, are scheduled to be served to operators of eight drug stores and employes here today.

The warrants charge the sale of drugs by others than licensed pharmacists and the operators with employing others than registered pharmacists for the sale of the drugs.

MAN KILLS WIFE, SELF

Waverly, O., May 2 (AP)—Paul Dewey, 44, well-known merchant of Jasper, O., late today shot and fatally wounded his wife, Elsie, 39, and then killed himself.

at the same time the president asked for another \$1,500,000,000 for emergency purposes. A study by governmental agencies was said to have shown the need for federal loans for home building and furnishing.

Upholds Liquor

At the same time, the White House disclosed the president was not inclined to cut the liquor tax at this time but that bootlegging would be combatted in other ways; that he was working on plans for a bimetallic money standard and there was hope for early action; and that he probably would sign the sugar control bill soon.

At the Capitol, silver advocates were shaping plans for another visit to the White House Saturday to urge the president to accept some additional silver legislation.

They Ease Demands

Their demands, which a few days ago were leaning toward mandatory action to raise the price of silver, now were described as contemplating flexible action.

The house was winding up debate on the stock exchange control bill asked by the president. It will be brought up in the senate soon.

Most Toledo Clergymen Favor Socialist System

Arguments Reach Letter - Writing Stage; Definition of Words Cited

Protestant and Jewish clergymen in Toledo are preponderantly in favor of national unions of workers, instead of local company unions, in an endeavor to bring about a more equal distribution of the proceeds of industry, according to a national survey conducted by a committee of 12 religious leaders and released for publication today.

The questionnaire revealed also that 15 of the 29 Toledo clergymen who answered favor socialism as the political system which offers the most effective method of achieving a co-operative commonwealth in the United States.

Twenty-seven Toledo clergymen favor national unions, only one favors local company unions and six are in doubt, according to the survey.

The questionnaire was answered by 20,870 clergymen. It was prepared by a committee that included S. Parkes Cadman, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Edward L. Israel, M. Ashby Jones, William P. King, F. H. Knobel, Francis J. McConnell, John

Barrow Reported In Missouri Battle

Springfield, Mo., May 3 (Thursday) (AP)—Highway patrolmen and county officers were concentrating in Texas and Wright counties early today after a report Clyde Barrow, Texas desperado, Bonnie Parker and another man had engaged in a running gun battle with a highway patrolman.

Residents of the vicinity said the automobile had been standing there all day. It was visited by police late today.

Car Is Stolen

The car was stolen April 23, the day after the shooting in the northwoods, from Roy Francis, South St. Paul, who was terrorized by Dillinger mobsmen along with his wife and baby.

The Illinois plates on the car were said to have been issued to a man in Freeport, Ill., indicating the gangsters had passed through that city on their flight here.

Police said they were confident that two other and possibly three members of the Dillinger mob were in the city. George (Babyface) Nelson was identified by police as being with Dillinger in the suburban fight Sunday night and police said they believed that John Hamilton accompanied his chief.

Homer Van Meter, another of the gang, had been identified as one of a gang that robbed a suburban bank since the escape in Wisconsin.

Mrs. Beth Green, widow of Eugene Green, killed by federal agents April 3, will also be tried on charges of harboring the Indianan.

The inheritance goes to him through an agreement signed by the mother he widowed, Mrs. Bertha K. Evans, and by his sister, Mrs. Nathalie Cooke, of Bremerton.

New York-To-Rome Fliers Ready To Hop Off Today

Sabelli, Pond End Preparations; Many Other Pilots Set for Ocean Crossings

New York, May 2 (AP)—Final preparations by Cesare Sabelli and Capt. George Pond for taking off tomorrow on a New York-to-Rome flight heralded tonight the approach of the transatlantic flying season with at least nine ocean hops projected.

Sabelli informed airport officials at Floyd Bennett field he and Captain Pond intended to hop off in the monoplane "Leonardo Da Vinci" sometime tomorrow afternoon, depending on weather conditions.

34 Charges Made By Auto-Lite Men

Affidavits Are Read Into Injunction Case

Thirty-four affidavits signed by non-striking employes of the Electric Auto-Lite Co., charging members of the crowd picketing the factory with violent actions or words toward them, were read into the record of the picketing injunction case in Judge Roy R. Stuart's common pleas court yesterday.

The hearing on the motion for a temporary injunction, filed by the Auto-Lite and Bingham Stamping companies against the local Automobile Workers' union, will continue this morning.

The reading of the affidavits by Attorney Leslie Henry was interrupted frequently by Mr. Hackett, who maintained that in many instances the affidavits did not state the misconduct complained of was committed by union members.

Heflin Has Chance In Alabama Vote

Hopes for Comeback Are Revived

Birmingham, Ala., May 2 (AP)—Former Senator J. Thomas Heflin, apparently out of the running earlier, tonight had an outside chance on official figures to enter the run-off and make an attempt for a "political comeback," on returns from yesterday's Democratic primary which placed former Gov. Bibb Graves in a gubernatorial run-off against Frank Nixon, Birmingham attorney.

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The group has gone on record as

Continued on Page 2, Third Column

The defendants are the same who have appeared as defendants in criminal actions arising from the bombing, hearings on which were held in the common pleas court at Bowling Green.

They are James L. Rohweder, 3419 Pelham road, manager of the Parisian Cleaner; Adolph M. Gallagher, 3739 Maxwell road, manager of the Gallagher Cleaners; Nathan Foraster, 2320 Franklin avenue, manager of the Foraster Dry Cleaners and Dyers; Bennett Chester, 719 Bancroft street, manager of the National Cleaners & Dyers; and Samuel Rudick, manager of the City Dry Cleaners & Dyers, West Woodruff and Linwood avenues.

The petition alleges the five Toledo dry cleaners conspired to ruin his reputation as a dry cleaner in Perrysburg from the time he bought the business in 1929. It alleges they employed Harry Weiss, Cleveland, to negotiate the bombing for them.

During his cross examination, Johnson also said it would be necessary for another "popularization" campaign for the new and premarient code Blue Eagle emblem. This program, Johnson said, would go into effect within the next 60 days.

Asked regarding the enforcement of codes on small retailers such as grocers, haberdashery stores, small restaurants and similar enterprises, the administrator revealed a previously expressed opinion that the "little fellow" was not being sacrificed at the expense of larger organizations.

One of the first questions asked Johnson after a brief and extem-

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SNOW HITS ARIZONA

Flagstaff, Ariz., May 2 (AP)—Snowstorms swept Flagstaff today, and blanketed this region four inches deep.

Zephyr Scoots Into City For Public To See Today

Stainless Steel Train To Be on View at Middlegrounds Until 3 P. M.

By WILFRID HIBBERT

The Zephyr, newest and fastest streamlined train, wafted into Toledo's Union station last night from Detroit and will be here today for public inspection at the Middle Grounds foot of Monroe street near the New York Central Freight house from 10 a. m. to 3 p. m.

There was a large gathering of train fans on hand to greet the

new train when it came in at 10:45 p. m.

Forty-nine passengers including railroad officials and newspaper representatives came in on the train which was operated from Detroit by a Michigan Central crew.

The many grade crossings along the route and presence of hundreds of persons viewing the train along the right of way made it necessary to operate at the normal speed from Detroit to Toledo but it was apparent that the three-car articulated unit would look like a silver streak at top speed. It has done 107 miles per hour.

The train is of stainless steel, shot-welded so that its units are "stitched" together eliminating rivets.

Inside its air conditioning, its clear and broad-visions windows,

Continued on Page 3, Second Column

Ransom Is Ready For Kidnaped Girl Child's Family Informed She Is Alive

Tucson, Ariz., May 2 (AP)—June Robles, 6, kidnaped a week ago today, still is missing.

The ransom demanded—\$15,000 in notes of small denomination—is ready and relatives awaited hoped-for acceptance by her abductors of their offer to pay for the child's safe return.

Bernabe Robles, white-haired grandfather of June; Mr. and Mrs. Fernando Robles, her parents, and others of the intimate family circle grimly kept their own counsel in furtherance of their promise of secrecy to the kidnapers.

Continued on Page 2, Second Column

Mr. McCumber said the pendency of the bill caused a rise in the value of the scrip issued to city employes by the Thacher administration. About \$400,000 remaining claims under the Miller act also will be eligible for exchange, under the Donovan bill, he said. The bill does not apply to Marshall act scrip.

The senate also passed the Miller bill, previously passed by the house, to amend the existing Miller act, so liquidated claims accrued prior to Jan. 1, this year, may be applied to the payment of city taxes on the 1934 duplicate and on subsequent duplicates until the claim is fully offset.

Two Are Arrested On Strike Plaints

Frank Knight, 28, of 1406 Detroit avenue, and Clyde Reneau, 24, of 1114 Brown avenue, pickets at the Logan Gear Co. plant, were arrested on suspicion last night on complaint of George Wilfred, 623 Knowler street, and A. R. Garner, 4341 Lowe road, who said their autos were damaged near the plant.

The arrests were made by Deputy Sheriffs Louis Gramling and William Jacobs.

WILL ROGERS— Says U. S. C. of C. Is the Caviar of Big Business

San Francisco, May 2 See where the U. S. Chamber of Commerce is gathered in Washington again. It's the the caviar of big business. Last time they met I happened to be in Washington and was the guest of Jesse Jones, (head of the Reconstruction Finance Corp., at their dinner.)

Now the whole constitution, by-laws and secret ritual of that orchard club is to "keep the government out of business."

Well, that's all right, for every organization must have a purpose, but here was the joke, they introduced all the big financiers, the head of this, that, and the other.

As each stood up, Jesse would write on the back of the menu card just what he had loaned him from the RFC. (I got that menu card yet) yet they said "keep the government out of business."

Yours,
WILL ROGERS.

working" capital loan, and the Federal Reserve would be unable to help in that case.

Several committee members openly expressed fears that because of those strings, and the Federal Reserve's past history, enactment of the bill—which has been approved by the president and Secretary Morgenthau—would not help the smaller industries.

Falls Under Survey
Black, reviewing the necessity for lending authority, said if the legislation he proposed were enacted, the Federal Reserve could make "working" capital loans of \$282,000,000. That, he said, should be enough for the next year or six months, although a survey of 4,958 banks and 1,066 chambers of commerce showed an estimated need for \$622,000,000.

The provision in the bill to let the Federal Reserve make commitments, he added, would stimulate loans by commercial banks since the latter would know that any time they needed cash they could turn their paper over to the Federal Reserve.

His survey, he said, showed that "working" capital loans of \$722,000,000 would maintain 350,000 men on jobs they now have and provide new employment for 380,000 more.

Toledo Clergymen Favor Socialism, National Unions

Continued From Page 1

When asked to choose between national unions of workers and local company unions, 11,304 or 54 per cent of the clergymen selected the former and 2,567 or 12 per cent voted for company unions; those in doubt on this question numbered 5,712 and 1,287 did not indicate their preference.

The number favoring a system of private ownership of banks is 7,200, or 34 per cent, as compared with 6,974 or 33 per cent who prefer a system of socialized banking as a public service. Those in doubt and who failed to answer this question totaled 6,696. The Rev. Harlan M. Frost, pastor of Second Baptist church and recently selected as secretary of the Toledo Council of Churches, cast his vote against private ownership of banks under government regulation and in favor of a system of socialized banking as a public service.

In reply to the question: "Which economic system appears to you to be less antagonistic to and more consistent with the ideals and methods of Jesus and the noblest of the Hebrew prophets?" 1,035 selected capitalism and the American system of "rugged individualism" prevailing in the United States before 1929, and 18,324 or 88 per cent chose a co-operative commonwealth. When requested to express an opinion as to which political system offers the most effective method of achieving a co-operative commonwealth, 10,691 or 51 per cent selected drastically reformed capitalism, 5,879 or 28 per cent chose socialism, 111 preferred fascism and 123 favored communism.

Listed among pastors favoring drastically reformed capitalism are the Rev. Theodore F. Adams, pastor of Ashland Avenue Baptist church, and Dr. Grant W. Speer, pastor of Central Christian church.

Shrine Services To Be Held in May

Devotions will be held each Sunday during May at 3 p. m. at the Shrine of Our Lady of Lourdes, Hill avenue, a quarter mile beyond the Holland-Sylvania road. Loud speakers have been installed and parking space for 2,000 cars. In case of rain devotions will be held in the church.

Jester minute

By "BUGS" BAER

May day passed quietly like a poker player with two treys.

Union square is still home plate for the Communists. But 20,000 New York police were the base umpires.

That's why the Reds kept their ears in line like cornstalks on a Kansas farm. New York adopted daylight saving time so the coppers could swing their nightsticks in the sunshine.

But you cannot stop a Red from yelling. He would leave Utopia if the acoustics were bad. A soap box ain't a bad rostrum. It should also make a pretty good boat.

We would like to see a big fleet of those boxes sailing toward Europe. With a full crew in each one.

plant to observation parlor. The first car contains the engine room and postoffice, the second car, express, buffet grill and a smoking compartment; the third car has paired seats and solarium. Each car has its own radio which handles train announcements.

The Zephyr will operate over the Burlington between Kansas City and Omaha after showing at the Century of Progress this summer. Its springs were made by the Mather Spring Co., in Toledo.

A. Cotsworth, Jr., passenger traffic manager of the Burlington, has been in charge of the special trip.

Passenger List

E. C. Cook, division passenger agent of the New York Central here, was the chief of the welcoming party which met the train in Detroit last night. Others in the group included Clare B. Tefft, transportation commissioner of the Chamber of Commerce; N. J. Beez, his assistant; Dan Desmond, Libbey Glass Manufacturing Co.; Lon Baughman, Toledo Scale Co.; Waldo Shanks and James Cobley, of the Shanks-Cobley Co.; John F. Doggett, division passenger agent Baltimore & Ohio; J. M. Griffin, general agent passenger department Chesapeake & Ohio; C. H. Lorenz, division passenger agent Wabash; Harry Lorenz, city passenger agent of the New York Central, and W. E. Gillis, Dan Johnson, Fred Dierks and F. E. Doyle, of the local New York Central passenger staff; V. W. Boes, traveling passenger agent of the Pennsylvania lines; G. E. Weiler, traveling passenger agent, and John Van Dyke, general passenger agent of the Burlington.

The crew which drove the new train to Toledo included Walter Markee, engineer; John Daperich, conductor, and George McIntosh, trainman, all of Detroit. W. Colin Campbell, trainmaster of the Michigan Central lines also accompanied the group.

Unionization Beyond Johnson's Control, He Admits in Quiz

Continued From Page 1

poraneous speech in which he outlined the general objectives of the recovery administration, concerned the future of the principles embodied in the recovery act.

"If," Johnson replied slowly, "there has been any good demonstrated by the recovery act, it will live and it ought to live; if there has been any bad, it will die and it ought to die.

"In a general way, I think we need some method for economic planning and economic planning can't be had without economic control.

Penalties Should Expire

Johnson indicated it was his personal belief the enforcement penalties of the recovery act should expire with the temporary act, that perpetuation of the plan should be by the desire to co-operate.

The administrator's opinion regarding differentials in the application of codes for various sections of the nation was asked by one member.

"We don't believe in differentials in general," Johnson said, "but we don't believe we have the right to move into a situation and by some explosive action destroy the industry."

Driver Is Sentenced On Drinking Charge

John Zientek, 38, of 1540 Clay street, who pleaded guilty yesterday to a charge of driving while intoxicated, was fined \$25 and costs and sentenced to 60 days in the workhouse by Judge Edgar W. Norris. Half of the workhouse sentence was suspended by the judge on condition that Zientek does not drive an automobile for one year.

After his automobile struck the machine of Louis Robideau, 336 Willard street, Tuesday night at Sherman and Mulberry streets, Zientek was arrested.



The big slope-faced nose of the Zephyr, newest train in America chapter in Toledo railroad history, is shown as it arrived in the Union. Its stainless steel gives it a silvery appearance and the streamlining is designed snugly to the rails. Toledoans may go through the new Burlington train day at the New York Central freight station in the Middle Grounds, foot of

Emmert Hearing Is Set Tomorrow

New Trial To Be Asked by Former Sheriff

Judge Scott Stahl yesterday set the time of hearing on the motion for a new trial for former Sheriff Charles Emmert for tomorrow at 1:30 p. m.

Emmert was convicted by a common pleas jury in Judge Stahl's court in 1932 on a charge of certifying false jail food bills to the county commissioners for payment. The motion for a new trial was based on the alleged assertion of two women jurors that they voted a guilty verdict because they were influenced by a bailiff and clerk in the court.

Judge Stahl refused at that time to hear the testimony of these women, asserting that they had both said the verdict was their verdict when the jury was polled. The case was taken to the supreme court of Ohio, which ruled that Judge Stahl should hear the testimony of the two women on this point.

Grand Jury To Study Transcript Cases

The county grand jury will interrupt its examination of causes of Toledo bank failures today to consider transcript cases.

Three directors of the Commerce Guardian Trust & Savings bank were questioned yesterday regarding large loans of bank funds made to directors and companies in which they were financially interested.

Dean Higgins, Al E. Reuben and Percy C. Jones testified in this connection. Reuben testified concerning a \$821,376 loan to the E. H. Close Co., in which he is said to be an officer, and Jones testified concerning a loan of \$281,385 made to him for the Howard Farms Co.

Mrs. C. K. Searles Passes Bus, Fined

Fremont, O., May 2 (Special)—Mrs. Elizabeth H. Searles, Toledo, whose auto struck and injured Carl Kline, Jr., 14, York township, was fined \$10 and costs by Justice F. E. Fox, Clyde, when she pleaded guilty of passing a school bus while children were leaving it. The boy suffered a broken leg and was cut and bruised.

Mrs. Searles is the wife of Claire K. Searles, University of Toledo professor.

Fraternity Alumni Will Meet Tonight

Toledo alumni of Delta Tau Delta fraternity will hold a dinner meeting tonight in the University club at 6:30 o'clock.

This is the first gathering of the Toledo Delta since their entertainment of the Northern Division conference of the fraternity here last February.

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Huron, Beech and Superior Streets
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They're Willing To Let Cash Stay In Closed Banks

Washington, May 2 (AP)—Some depositors in closed banks apparently are in no hurry to get their money.

J. F. T. O'Connor, comptroller of the currency, issued a unique appeal today for them to collect an estimated \$4,000,000 awaiting.

O'Connor said receivers of 848 closed banks had reported to him they had dividend checks more than 60 days old totaling \$3,037,526.

Long Illness Fatal To Barbara Norton

Last rites have not been arranged for Mrs. Barbara Norton, 78, who died in the home of her nephew, Fred S. Bloom, 4354 Commonwealth avenue, Tuesday night. She had lived in Toledo about five years, making her home with her nephew. Mrs. Norton had been an invalid for many years. The body was removed to the West Toledo Boyer mortuary on Sylvania avenue, and will probably be taken to Waterloo, Ind., her old home, for burial.



A Bargain Can Will Be the Ta

IN our 47 years of business, we have found a hundred ways of money concentrated them all in the things that will surprise you open your eyes in amazement.

Business is on the upturn—the upturn. The "buys" in may not come again. If you down TODAY to save on your needs. They're REAL bargains which Sears is famous.

• Store Opens Daily at 10 shopping pleasure

• FREE PARKING with Sears is a real convenience

SEARS, ROEBUCK

AT ALL STATE LIQUOR STORES



DIXIE BELLE
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Distilled by Continental Distilling Corporation, Phila.

Toledo Pastors to Discuss Questionnaire on War Views

31 Local Ministers Oppose Military Training in Schools, 19 Vote Against Armed Strife in Replying to National Quiz.

Publication is made today of replies to a questionnaire on war and economic justice from 20,870 ministers and rabbis. The questionnaire was issued by Kirby Page, of The World Today, a religious journal published in New York.

Toledo ministers will discuss the results of the survey at a meeting of the Toledo Ministers association Monday at 10:30 A. M. in the Y. M. C. A. The Rev. P. E. ...

lic high schools and civilian colleges or universities, and fewer than 8,600 declare they could conscientiously serve as an official army chaplain on active duty in wartime.

Among clergymen refusing to sanction or participate in war is the Rev. Karl W. Scheuffler, of Elmore, pastor of the Elmore M. E. church, who explains that he

Kid Party Chairman



Kroger Observes 52nd Anniversary

Kroger stores in Toledo with several thousand other stores throughout the and central states Friday, ing a two weeks' celebration 52nd anniversary of the Grocery & Baking Co.

Gifts for customers appropriate high flying will take place during the climaxed by an air expos food show in 21 key ci Sunday.

Patrons from this city m

TOLEDO BLADE: THURSDAY, MAY 3, 1934

Clergymen Back Socialism as Best Political System

Toledo Ministers and Rabbis Advocate National Unions of Workers in Preference to Company Groups, Questionnaire Reveals.

Replies from Toledo ministers and rabbis, answering the questions on economic justice compiled in a nationally distributed questionnaire show clergymen here to be in favor of national unions of workers in preference to local company unions, as an endeavor to bring about a more equal distribution of industrial proceeds.

The survey, which was sponsored by a group of religious leaders, reports that 15 of 29 Toledo clergymen who replied consider socialism as the political system which offers the most effective means of achieving a cooperative commonwealth in the United States.

National unions are approved by 27 Toledo ministers, one favors local company unions and six are doubtful, according to the questionnaire.

Limitations Favored

The canvass showed that 16,557 clergymen, or 79 per cent of those replying, are convinced that there should be drastic limitation, through the inheritance tax, of the amount of wealth that may be inherited by an individual, and that 15,780, or 76 per cent, favor the drastic limitation through the income tax and the removal of tax-exempt sources, of the annual in-

come that may be legally retained by an individual.

Among pastors favoring drastic income taxes is Dr. Clarence H. LaRue of the Monroe Street M. E. church, according to an analysis of the survey. On the same question, the Rev. Edwin C. Walley of the Deshler M. E. church, comments: "I refuse to believe that the hope of becoming millionaires actuated Pasteur, Burbank, Edison, Lincoln, or anyone else, to really constructive effort."

Favoring drastic inheritance taxes, the Rev. Kendall Bancroft Burgess of the Swanton M. E. church, writes: "There is no reason why the child of a rich man should inherit, save in trivial amounts. Each child born into the world should have, as nearly as possible, an equal start economically at least."

The results of the questionnaire show that compulsory unemploy-

The questionnaire was issued to 100,000 ministers and rabbis with the indorsement of the following group of noted churchmen: S. Parkes Cadman, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Edward L. Israel, M. Ashby Jones, William P. King, F. H. Knobel, Francis J. McConnell, John McDowell, D. P. McGeachy, Kirby Page, Daniel A. Poling and William Scarlett.

ment insurance under government administration is favored by 13,218, or 63 per cent. When asked to choose between national unions of workers and local company unions, 11,304 or 54 per cent of the clergymen selected the former and 2,567 or 12 per cent voted for company unions; those in doubt on this question number 5,712 and 1,287 did not indicate their preference.

The number favoring a system of private ownership of banks is 7,200, or 34 per cent, as compared with 6,974 or 33 per cent who prefer a system of socialized banking as a public service. Those in doubt and who failed to answer this question totaled 6,696. The Rev. Harlan M. Frost, pastor of Second Baptist church and recently selected as secretary of the Toledo Council of Churches, cast his vote against private ownership of banks under government regulation and in favor of a system of socialized banking as a public service.

Reforms Advocated

In reply to the question: "Which economic system appears to you to be less antagonistic to and more consistent with the ideals and methods of Jesus and the noblest of the Hebrew prophets?" 1,035 selected capitalism and the American system of rugged individualism prevailing in the United States before 1929, and 18,324 or 88 per cent

chose a cooperative commonwealth. When requested to express an opinion as to which political system offers the most effective method of achieving a cooperative commonwealth, 10,691 or 51 per cent selected drastically reformed capitalism, 5,879 or 28 per cent chose Socialism, 111 preferred fascism and 123 favored communism.

Listed among pastors favoring drastically reformed capitalism are the Rev. Theodore F. Adams, pastor of Ashland Avenue Baptist church, and Dr. Grant W. Speer, pastor of Central Christian church.

The questionnaire was answered by 20,870 clergymen. It was prepared by a committee that included S. Parkes Cadman, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Edward L. Israel, M. Ashby Jones, William P. King, F. H. Knobel, Francis J. McConnell, John McDowell, D. P. McGeachy, Kirby Page, Daniel A. Poling and William Scarlett.

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Final Swim Meets Planned

Final swim meets until the fall season are being planned by the Gra-Y clubs of the central district at the Y. M. C. A. pool. Thursday night members of the Lincoln, Nathan Hale, McKinley, Auburn-dale, Stickney, Webster, Spring and Hamilton school groups will swim. The Friendly Indian clubs will swim Saturday at 1 P. M.

Robins Build Nest on Window Sill

Intimate details of the domestic life of a robin family are open secrets at the home of Richard M. Collins, 3720 Rushland avenue, where a pair of the birds appropriated the sill of an upstairs window for their nest this spring.

The poachers glued their nest to the window with mud and are now engaged in raising a family of four. They

ZEPHYR TO COME HERE TOMORROW

Glittering Streamlined Train to Be Shown in Middle Grounds.

The glittering Zephyr, new streamlined, Diesel-powered modern passenger train built for the Burlington lines, will visit Toledo

For Mother's Day!



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POLITICAL NOTES

Mooney Petition Denied

A petition for the release of Tom Mooney from prison on a writ of habeas corpus was denied by the United States District Court in San Francisco last month. The petition will now be carried to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals and thence to the United States Supreme Court, Mooney's attorneys declared.

The petition pointed out that "the knowing use of perjured testimony" against Mooney "constituted such misuse and abuse of the state of California of the process and procedure of the trial court," as "to deprive Mooney of his liberty without due process of law."

Other grounds cited for the petition were based on the language of the U. S. Supreme Court decision in the Scottsboro case. The petition stated that "the state of California has since Mooney's conviction, admitted that his conviction was obtained by the use of perjured testimony and was unjustified." It also pointed to statements of 10 of the 11 surviving jurors that, had subsequently discovered evidence which the District Attorney suppressed, been before them, they would not have convicted Mooney.

Following the filing of the petition a brief was being prepared by a number of Congressmen requesting that President Roosevelt use his influence by suggesting a pardon for Mooney to Governor Rolph of California.

Ministers Decry War

Churches of the United States should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war, declared 13,997 ministers out of 20,870 replying to a questionnaire sent out recently. Among the sponsors of the questionnaire were Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Rev. M. Ashby Jones, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Rev. D. P. McGeachy and Kirby Page.

Of the ministers replying 82 per cent condemned military training in high schools and colleges and 38 per cent said they could not conscientiously serve as official army chaplains in war time.

In answers to questions on social and economic issues, 54 per cent of the clergymen favored bona fide labor unions and 63 per cent were in favor of compulsory unemployment insurance under government administration.

A cooperative commonwealth was selected by 88 per cent as the economic system more consistent with Christianity and 51 per cent favored a drastically reformed capitalism as the most effective method of achieving this end. As against this, 5,879 individual ministers chose Socialism, 123 chose Communism, and 111 Fascism.

Cotton Plan Hits Tenants

Southern tenant farmers and sharecroppers are suffering under the cotton acreage reduction program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, it was revealed last month in a report by Dr. Calvin B. Hoover, economic adviser in the AAA.

Many landlords are taking the full benefit payment checks for themselves, tenants are being replaced with day laborers, and "squatter" families with appallingly low living standards are increasing in numbers, the report showed.

Among "undesirable effects" of the program, Dr. Hoover noted "a considerable number of cases in which tenant farmers have not received the full amount specified by the 1933 cotton contracts." He said further that "the operation of the acreage reduction program creates a motive for reducing the number of tenants on farms."

The report described the "squatter" families as follows: "These families formerly were able to obtain a crop to tend but are now unable to do so. Many of them are living in tumble-down tenant houses and tobacco barns and any sort of shack which they can find. Their standard of living is appalling and is even much below the customary low standard of living of tenant farmers who are engaged in production."

Monopoly Seen in NRA

American industry, under the NRA, is heading towards monopoly, the Darrow Review Board declared last month in making public its report on the effects of the NRA on small business. The board was created to determine the soundness of charges that small business was being discriminated against in the operation of the NRA and its codes of fair competition.

In a supplementary report signed only by Clarence Darrow and W. O. Thompson, a member of the Board, it was declared: "The NRA has given the sanction of government to self-governing combinations in the different industries. Inevitably this means control by the largest producers. . .

"The choice is between monopoly sustained by government, which is clearly the trend in the National Recovery Administration, and a planned economy, which demands socialized ownership and control, since only by collective ownership can the inevitable conflict of separately owned units for the market be eliminated in favor of planned production.

"There is no hope for the small business man or for complete recovery in America in enforced restriction upon production for the purpose of maintaining higher prices. The hope for the American people, including the small business man, not to be overwhelmed by their own abundance, lies in the planned use of America's resources following socialization.

"To give the sanction of government to sustain profits is not a planned economy, but a regimented organization for exploitation," the supplementary report declared.

General Hugh Johnson, replying on behalf of the NRA, called for abolition of the board and declared that its investigation was one-sided and its figures inaccurate.

Ratification of the Child Labor Amendment by New York State was killed recently when the Judiciary Committee of the State Senate voted down a resolution which would have affected the state's action on ratification.

Fascism Hits Workers

How labor fares under fascism was revealed recently by the *Labor Press Service* of Great Britain in an analysis of 10 years of fascist rule in Italy.

Salaries and wages had been reduced again and again so that, at the time of publication, they were from 35 to 50 per cent below the rate for 1921, the year before fascism came to power. Since the press services figures were made public wages and salaries have been further reduced 6 to 20 per cent.

It was also revealed that between 1926 and 1933 the wages of Italian peasants were reduced some 50 per cent and adult women workers in the fields received less than five cents an hour.

That business in general has not prospered under fascism is indicated by the number of bankruptcies and the decline in railway traffic. Bankruptcies increased 600 per cent during the first 10 years of fascist rule and the number of railway passengers dropped 20 per cent. Taxes have increased 50 per cent under fascism.

Pensions in Washington

An old age pension bill for the District of Columbia was before the Senate last month after having been approved by its District committee.

A maximum pension of \$35 a month is set and to receive it a needy person must be 65 years of age or over and have resided in the District for at least 10 years.

A similar measure had been approved by the House District committee and was before the House of Representatives.

Crisis Damages Education

A graphic description of how education in the United States has suffered from the business crisis is contained in *Schools and the Crisis* by Rex David. *Schools and the Crisis* is the latest in a series of pamphlets published by International Pamphlets, 799 Broadway, New York, for 10c.

Some 2,280,000 children of school age are not in school and 250,000 teachers are unemployed, David declares, quoting from government figures. These also show that 2,000 rural schools in 24 states did not open in 1933. On April 1, 1934, 2,000 schools closed.

Last year the cash salaries of teachers averaged less than \$1,000 a year, while

payless pay days have cost teachers more than \$40,000,000.

Pointing out that American education has lost 10 years of progress since 1929, David presents a practical program presented for the defense of American schools by organized parents, teachers and students.

Small Farmers Meet

The first national convention of the United Farmers League, organization of small farmers, is to meet in Minneapolis June 22 to 25, it was announced last month.

The executive council declared that every branch of agriculture, except possibly cotton, will have delegates.

Among the measures backed by the league is the halting of all foreclosures and cancellation of all mortgages on farms and farm equipment. It also favors cash relief to destitute farm families and federal credit for seed and forage to farmers in need of it. To finance this the league demands that the government set up a \$2,000,000,000 credit for farming just as banks, railroads and industrial corporations have been helped by federal funds.

The convention of the National Farmers Holiday Association was held in Des Moines, Ia., last month. The highlight of the convention was passage of a resolution petitioning the removal of Secretary of Agriculture Wallace.

Homes Need Repairs

Some 62 per cent of the homes in the United States are in need of repairs, according to partial findings of a nationwide CWA survey made public recently. The study was made in 63 cities as part of a government plan to attract private capital to home modernization, with partially guaranteed government loans as an incentive.

Of 57,000 structures in eight cities, 35,000 need repairs, according to the survey, and more than 2,000 are "unfit for occupancy." An average vacancy of 8 per cent would probably disappear altogether, it indicated, if families crowded into 14,000 of the houses could afford to occupy separate houses.

Almost 8,000 of the homes covered in these eight cities have no running water; 10,440 have no gas or electric light; 16,000 have no private indoor water closets; and 23,500 have no bathtubs and showers.

Veterans Win Food, Lodging

Food, lodging and transportation were won from the federal government last month by the war veterans convening in Washington.

The government agreed that the Veterans National Rank and File Convention should be held at Fort Hunt, Va., and that during the convention the government would provide meals, shelter, transportation from Washington to Fort Hunt, and medical care.

The camp was to be established for the veterans by the federal relief authorities, but its administration was to be directed by committees elected by the veterans.

The 3-point program of the veterans called for immediate payment of the bonus, repeal of the Economy Act with its cuts in veterans' benefits, and immediate relief for jobless and farmers.

Khaki Shirt Head Jailed

Art J. Smith, head of the Fascist Khaki Shirts of America, was sentenced to from three to six years in prison recently for perjury. Frank Moffer, a former henchman of Smith in the Khaki Shirts, was sentenced to from five to ten years for killing of and anti-fascist.

Smith was sentenced for declaring that a friend of the slain man had fired the fatal shot. The friend was tried but acquitted despite Smith's testimony against him. Some two months later Moffer admitted the killing and revealed that Smith knew that Moffer had committed the crime.

Half Billion to Business

Over half a billion dollars was voted to business enterprises last month by the Senate without a record vote.

The action was taken on a bill providing about \$530,000,000 in direct loans from the Federal Reserve Banks and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to solvent business enterprises to tide them over the present credit stress.

Under the bill about \$280,000,000 would be made available by the Federal Reserve Banks and \$250,000,000 by the RFC.

A similar bill had already been reported to the House of Representatives from its Banking and Currency Committee.

The Editor's Own Page

William H. Phelps

Is It Worth While to Fuss?

WE MEAN, to fuss over our Methodist machinery. When we are on a trip, if the old Oakland is going pretty well, we never think of stopping to overhaul the engine to see if we can find a flaw.

Maybe we could use up our day tinkering the engine and get nowhere. The commission on a Bigger and Better Methodism threw a lot of questions at us (in the issue of Mar. 6), just at the time we were getting nicely started on a trip.

We endured two sessions of the Detroit Preachers' meeting on possible improvements in our machinery. Personally, we would like to change a few things in our Discipline, although just now we have forgotten what they are.

But, whatever the faults of our old Methodist car, it's rearing to go, not to be man-handled all the while. Let's see if we can get somewhere with it.

On the eve of the General Conference of our Church South, that old war horse, Dr. H. C. Morrison, has been reading our very thoughts into his editorial:

Personally, I have felt but little sympathy with the various suggestions for changes in the ecclesiastical machinery of our Church. I am persuaded that the imperative need is not more machinery, or change of gear. What the Church needs is more Divine Power! I wish the agitation had been on the subject of Missions, Evangelism, how to reach, interest, and bring to Christ and the Church, the neglected masses who are practically neglected by our present method of Church activities.

Our brethren met at Jackson, Miss., on April 29. They will be short on funds and long on suggestions for economy. May the Lord help them not to make as many blunders as we made at Atlantic City in 1932!

20,870 Preachers Go on Record

KIRBY PAGE shot some very pointed questions out to the American preachers and 20,870 shot their answers back at him. The tabulated report is mighty interesting.

Nearly 13,000 of the ministers said *they would not sanction or participate in any future war*. 13,000! The jingoists in Washington better "make a note on't."

The differences, however, are as striking as the totals, noting the men taking opposite views. Question 6 was the hot spot of the questionnaire: "Are you personally prepared to state that it is your present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as an armed combatant?"

The following are a few among the 13,000 who give an unqualified declaration that they will decline to fight:

Harry Emerson Fosdick, New York; William P. King, Nashville; Charles Clayton Morrison, Chicago; Albert W. Beaven, Rochester; William P. Merrill, New York; Bishop Ralph S. Cushman, Denver; Albert W. Palmer, Chicago; Bishop W. P. Thirkield, New York; Bishop John Nuelson, Zurich; Bishop R. J. Wade, Stockholm; Ralph W. Sockman, New York; Merle N. Smith, Pasadena; Albert Edward Day, Baltimore; Raymond Calkins, Cambridge.

Then follows a list of those anti-war men who are not ready to go quite that far. Here's a sample:

S. Parkes Cadman, Brooklyn; Daniel A. Poling, New York; Bishop C. E. Locke, Los Angeles; Charles F. Aked, Los Angeles; Augustus P. Reccord, Detroit.

The Methodist Vote

On that question, the Methodists piled up a big "no

fight" with 3,951, with only 881 declining, 619 in doubt, and 49 not answering, an anti-fight percentage of 72%.

The Baptists registered 57%, the Presbyterians 51%, the Congregationalists 63%, the Lutherans 33%, the Episcopalians 46%, the Disciples 69%, the Jewish rabbis, 63%.

Some were more "anti" than were the Methodists: Evangelicals 75%, Church of the Brethren, 95%.

Our Methodist students in our Boston School of Theology voted 41 out of 47 not to fight. The preachers of tomorrow are not going to be dragooned into war as were their fathers!

Capitalism or Socialism

The next hottest spot was question 15: "If you favor a co-operative commonwealth, which political system seems to you to offer the most effective method of achieving this end?"

Among those preferring "a drastically reformed capitalism," we note the names of Dr. O. W. Fifer, of the Western Christian Advocate and Dr. Joseph A. Vance.

Those voting for socialism include the following:

Bishop J. F. McConnell, New York; Reinhold Niebuhr, New York; Charles M. Sheldon, Topeka; Bernard C. Clausen, Pittsburgh; Sherwood Eddy, New York; Bishop J. C. Baker, San Francisco; Ernest F. Tittle, Evanston; Henry Hitt Crane, Scranton; Halford E. Luccock, New Haven; Paul Hutchinson, Chicago; W. E. J. Gratz, Chicago; R. L. Tucker, Columbus; Frank Kingdon, East Orange.

The Methodist ministers voted thusly: for reformed Capitalism, 2,696; Facism, 14; Communism, 22; Socialism, 1,845; "don't knows," 465.

Plain Words

The published report carries the opinions of some men, pro and con. Most of them are very decided, especially on the anti-fight proposition. Those who would not promise to stay out of war:

"The rule laid down by St. Paul, Romans 13:1-7, is still good enough for me," writes H. H. Kuehn (Lutheran), of Centerville. "To deviate from this rule means to deviate from God's rule. Scripture gives us Christians no second choice; nor do we care for one." "Joshua warred against the Canaanites; David against the Philistines; George Washington against King George; Lincoln against slavery. I am no better than they," declares Wm. J. Lowrie (Presbyterian), of Windom. Mr. L. W. Faulstick (Lutheran), of Los Angeles, says: "According to the Fourth Commandment, we are to obey our government. If I by the government's order participate in a wrong war, then the responsibility falls on the government's shoulders, and my conscience is clear." "It is possible that when one turns the other cheek a bayonet will be run through it," asserts A. Burstein (Jewish), of New York.

Those who are clearing their own consciences on war are just as decided:

"Yes. This is my first such statement," writes Everett W. MacNair (Congregational), of Niagara Falls. "I believe our temptation in the event of war needs the backbone formed by preparatory decision." "I have never before been willing to say yes to this, but am now persuaded that a refusal to say yes to this question is to vote in favor of another World War. My attendance at the Institute of International Relations at Duke University last summer is considerably responsible for my decision," says J. G. Phillips (Methodist), of Hookerton.

"Theoretically, I can conceive of situations where the use of armed resistance might well be justifiable," says Philip K. Swartz (Congregational), of Venice. "Practically, such a situation is so improbable for us in America, and so impossible justly to appraise if it should occur,

that I feel I can ignore it and make an 'absolutist' declaration." In the same tone, writes Edgar E. Houghton (Presbyterian), of Anchorage: "Theoretically I could not take an 'absolute' pacifist position, as I can imagine a hypothetical case of an outlaw nation invading another, but practically I take the position that today there is no such thing as a purely defensive war. I know of no reason to believe that any war in the future will present such an alternative." Mr. Locke White (Presbyterian), of Montgomery, says: "My position is the same as that of Dr. Macintosh of Yale. Theoretically, there might be war of such a nature that I would both sanction and participate. Practically, such a war is most improbable. Hence, though not 100 per cent pacifist, I wish to be counted 'Yes.'" (This is your editor's position. W. H. P.)

William Randolph Hearst can go right on rattling his mighty pen-sword, but the preachers are not going to follow his rattle. The few who do, will be given front page publicity. That is what happens to "exceptions."

["20,870 Clergymen on War and Economic Justice," is a booklet of 40 pages. 25c each. Kirby Page, 3947 48th St., Long Island City, N. Y.]

The Wets Should Worry, and They Do

WE FEEL constrained to record two up-to-the-minute opinions, one from a wet, apparently, and one from a dry, apparently. The wet is sarcastic and the dry is cynical. The first is from the pen of H. I. Phillips in the St. Louis Daily Globe-Democrat:

So This Is Repeal

Bootlegging is being conducted on a bigger scale under prohibition, declares Joseph H. Choate, Director of the National Alcoholic Control Administration.

Now that liquor has been made legal, the sale of illegal liquor is at a new high.

The consumers have suspected as much from the taste, the prices and the funny shaped bottles, but Mr. Choate's report shows conditions worse than they feared.

The capacity of the bootlegging plants in America today exceeds the capacity of the legal distillers, he says, and the ultimate consumer is getting a rougher deal than ever.

Mr. Choate intimates that the bootlegger, instead of being wiped out, has merely changed from a checked suit, gum shoes, pearl derby and a loud necktie to the regulation business suit and stopped talking out of one side of his mouth.

He has expanded his plant, put on more trucks, stopped calling himself "Tony" and is now delivering in carload lots instead of by suitcase.

The only major difference under repeal is that there are more stamps on the bottles and the caps come off with less trouble.

The dry's comment was made on reading the Free Press article under the headline, "Rebel Distillers Face Attack Along 3 Fronts."

Terrible! "Arthur J. Mellott arrived from Kansas to organize a whisky detective force of 1,800 men to stamp out bootleggers." Think of the expense that Repeal has entailed. 1,800 men! Good bye to our expected profits!

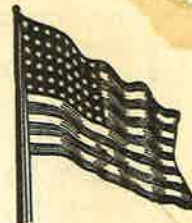
Terrible!! "In Detroit, Major W. L. Ray has massed 50 agents who have already started the move against the onslaughts of illegal stills." Fifty men snooping around interfering with the personal liberty of our esteemed citizens! Fifty!

Terrible!!! This army is not after common bootleggers, but is after the bigger game. Men will be killed. Gangsters will be shot and more than one officer killed. Why this fearful sacrifice of life when we have repealed all the liquor laws and have had a guarantee of peace?



Topics of the Times

Highlights and Sidelights of the News
The Editor and Others



News from Washington

Harry Earl Woolever

Editor of the National Methodist Press

President Roosevelt's Letter to the Bishops.

TWO rather significant items were released from the White House on April 24. The first is a letter which the President sent to the Bishops of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, now in session at Jackson, Mississippi. The late father of the Secretary to the President, the Hon. Marvin H. McIntyre, was a minister in this church. The letter reads as follows:

My dear Bishops:

In these trying days of economic rehabilitation of our country, the spiritual side of our national life assumes added significance, for it is fundamental that in times of stress we feel more keenly the need of Divine guidance. Therefore it seems to me that more than usual importance is attached to this quadrennial general conference and great opportunities present themselves to you who are guiding the destinies of Southern Methodism.

May I wish for you a successful outcome on your deliberations with a resultant program which will tend to bring about a spiritual awakening among your people and which will extend beyond the borders of your own church? It is my thought that there never was a time when constructive efforts on the part of religious leaders of the country could be used to better advantage. Practical Christianity, generally applied, would in my opinion go far in helping us to solve the great economic problems

confronting us, brought about in a large part by greed and selfishness.

Very sincerely yours,
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Where Labor and Capital Unite.

CENTERING in Johnson City, New York, is a great shoe manufacturing industry headed by a Christian gentleman who carries his ideals into his business. The result is one of the most contented and prosperous sections to be found in all of industrial America. As word comes from the centers of industrial discontent where radical agitators are fomenting a mass demonstration of protest against American conditions, the following letter was received by the President from the leaders in this section. It shows what justice and fair dealing in industry might accomplish. The President passes this letter along in this form:

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
Washington, D. C.

More than 25,000 working people, representing two major industries, together with civic organizations of Binghamton, Johnson City, Endicott, and Owego, New York, will march in a huge parade April 30 in tribute to the satisfactory conditions existing here between labor and capital. This is one feature of a May Day celebration originated and sponsored by the workers as an expression of mutual confidence, in contrast with the usual May Day demonstrations of protest and discontent. A county-wide holiday has been declared through proclama-

What is Patriotism?

Gentlemen:

To one who is deeply concerned with the ghastly business of war and still more war it would seem that rather simple measures would forever impede any possibility whatsoever of world-wide destruction. Were we to work unitedly and persistently in a fierce determination to rob that dangerously inflammatory word Patriotism of its traditional magic, military armor and the beat of war drums would drive sane mortals to vanish instead of mobilize. There is not in the English language a more provocative word for limitless evil than that of Patriotism. Personally, I am not a patriot in the conventional sense and never have been weak enough to believe that the land of my nativity is royal perfection.

It is heart rending and an insult to twentieth century intelligence and progress (?) to think of the multitudes of meek lambs willingly led to mass slaughter by an imperious and terrible demigod known as Patriotism, whom no man dare upbraid or even approach because of a false idea of national glory and perfection, but which after all is seen to wear only a shabby cloak shot through with penny wise and pound foolish holes. How the puppets dance to military rhythm and joyfully surrender tender bodies as targets for the imagined and craftily inflamed enemy as the strings are pulled by the wily and safely harbored pseudo-great.

—Ruth Phyllis B. Fink, Mechanicsburg, Penna.

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"Our small granddaughter returns from her modern pre-nursery school to announce that she has been 'snoothing' the flag. Her formula runs: 'I pledge allegiance to my flag and to the public that it stands on: one nation, invisible with liberty and justice far off.'"—The Evening Transcript.

* * *

Clergymen Against War

Based on 20,670 replies to a questionnaire sent out by The World Tomorrow, clergymen stand as follows on questions related to war; 62% purpose not to sanction any future war while 25% will not take this stand; 67% believe churches should refuse to support any future war while 22% are not yet decided that churches should make such a declaration; 77% favor a substantial reduction of armaments by the United States even if other nations will not make a proportionate reduction; 16% oppose such action; 75% oppose and 13% favor armed intervention in attempts to protect the lives and property of its citizens in other countries; 82% oppose and 12% favor military training in our public schools or civilian colleges and universities; 48% favor while 29% oppose our immediate entrance into the League of Nations. Of those who responded 89% were willing to have their replies made public.

Ben Burnt Column

A corporal's guard of seven men who shouted "No" when a tide-rip of "Ayes" put America into the World War would vote the same way if the fateful roll were called today.

Here's what four of them said on the 17th anniversary of that roll call.

Senator Norris: "Not only our nation but every civilized country in the world is now suffering from the results brought about mainly by the great World War. Our civilization is even now on the verge of destruction.

"It has made hundreds of millionaires and millions of paupers.

"It is still claiming its toll from every home and every fireside in the land. It has created a privileged class who live in luxury on the gold coined from the life blood of our noblest citizens."

Senator Dill: "If I had it to do over a hundred times, I would vote the same way. I am unalterably opposed to sending men across the ocean to fight anybody."

Representative Britten: "When the Woodrow Wilson administration declared war on Germany some 17 years ago, it committed the most colossal blunder not only in the history of America, but for all time to come.

"The war has been fought in vain."

Representative Church: "I voted against the World War. Would I do so again? I surely would.

"Several hundred thousand boys ruined, gassed and dead; fifty billion dollars expended, twelve billion dollars loaned, sadness, distress and destitution everywhere as a result."

—Hollywood Citizen News

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Harry Emerson Fosdick Says:

"I stimulated raiding parties to their murderous tasks. I lied to the unknown soldier about a possible good consequence of the war. There are times I don't want to believe in immortality—the times I want to think that the unknown soldier never can realize how fruitless was his effort. The support I gave to the war is a deep condemnation upon my soul."

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Dear France:

I am really sorry we can't promise you full support in case of another war. I do think the world is terribly in need of bigger and better wars. And it is difficult to have to tell Lafayette we won't be there next time. But tell him that torch that was tossed to us on Flanders Field last time to hold it high, burnt our fingers and we are in the hospital now.

Yours,

—Ben Burnt

(The above letter from a lieutenant in the world war suggested this column.—Ed.)

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"War is the trade of barbarians!"—Napoleon.

Preachers and Social Reform

Alva W. Taylor, Nashville, Tennessee

Most classifications are for the sake of convenience especially when they deal with human beings. Preachers cannot be classified like botanical specimens but "for the sake of convenience" in this short attempt at an analysis they may be put into three categories, viz., the pastoral, the evangelistic and the prophetic, or to say the same thing in another way, those who are interested in promoting the church and the cure of individual souls, those who are interested in preaching to crowds and "saving souls," and those whose chief interest is in preaching the social gospel and building the kingdom of God among men.

Those whose chief interest is in preaching a social gospel will, without doubt, answer questionnaires pertaining to social questions out of all proportion to their numbers as compared to those who are interested in evangelism or institutional work.

The Kirby Page questionnaire probably comes nearer to discovering what percentage of the 100,000 ministers to whom it was sent put the social application of the gospel first than it does just how the ministerial mind as a whole stands on social questions when driven to a decision; some 80,000 were not driven by their social interests to reply. That does not mean they have no social interest or that they would register, in the event they were required to vote, in a non-progressive way. Without doubt a much larger percentage of them would go along with their congregations on social issues, but it is by no means to be concluded that great numbers of them would not be in the vanguard. Preachers, like others, incline to "grow

from what they feed upon" and questions of righteousness always have a social implication.

Radicals are liable to denounce the ministry as conservative, time-serving, middle-of-the-road institutionalists. My own conclusion, after many years of dealing with ministers, social workers, teachers, legislators, lawyers, editors and other makers and moulders of public opinion, is that a larger percentage of the ministry is genuinely socially minded, morally fearless, and interested in social reform than any of the other groups. This ought to be so because of the things the ministerial mind feeds upon and the interests it serves. Law, legislation, politics, news readers (to say nothing of advertisers) have no lure like that of preaching. There is nothing in the school curriculum, the political or commercial world or even in the technique of social case work that offers the stimulus of the Gospels, the cure of souls, the righting of wrongs, that lure the true minister. The gospels are socially radical, the moral delinquencies of men have environmental causes, the Old Testament prophets were social reformers, the very terms of ethical good require a consideration of social change.

The Kirby Page questionnaire reveals to some extent at least the interest of ministers in social questions and the forward look of at least a considerable percentage of them. Of course we do not know what the 80,000 who did not reply think, but to conclude that they are all conservatives is not borne out by experience with questionnaires. I once sent out a simple post-card questionnaire to 3,000 Disciple preachers, practically all of whom, it is safe to say, were convinced and ardent temperance reformers, asking them to say whether or not

they thought national prohibition should be continued or whether according to their best judgment, temperance would be better promoted by some other form of legislation. Only 40 per cent of them bothered to make a simple cross before a printed question and drop a self-addressed return post card into the letter box. I have known even the promoters of questionnaires to fail to answer the other fellow's questions.

The probabilities are that a larger percentage of those who heartily espouse pacifism answered than of those who are more cautious in their judgments and incline toward the pastoral rather than the prophetic mind. Grant, for the sake of argument, that practically all who take a radical viewpoint voted and you may still well doubt whether any of the other above named groups having to do with the moulding of public opinion would produce so many. Would one out of seven of the lawyers, editors, legislators or even teachers vote that they would not personally sanction any war of any kind or have the churches do so? It is certain that less than six out of every hundred of them would proclaim themselves socialists. It is doubtful if twenty per cent of any of those groups would even answer such a questionnaire. If they did there is no doubt that more than one in twenty of them would defend "rugged individualism."

Of course it is legitimate to ask how many of those who took the radical pacifist position would "stick" in the event, for instance, that Japan attacked us. Personally I frankly believe that the larger number of them would then come to believe it legitimate to support a war of defense. Absolutist attitudes are usually more emotional than rational; in the face of such a horrible realism as

a Japanese attack upon us the reaction would also be emotional. This does not mean that it would not be sincere in both cases—it would be—but the emotional rather than the realistic nature of the judgment is illustrated by the fact that none of them are going to jail, or even allowing their property to be sold at auction, rather than pay taxes to build and support the very war machine they avow they would not help use in the event of war.

The vote on other questions illustrates much better than those of the absolutist type the solid conviction of the ministerial mind on questions of social reform, because they are not of the extremist and therefore emotional type and they are voted in the face of the issue. Because they are not of the emotional type the 20,860 who voted probably more nearly represent the mind of the whole 100,000. Nine out of ten voted against the old type of capitalism and "rugged individualism," and in favor of economic cooperation instead of the old competitive order. Three-fourths favor levying of high taxes (presumably graduated) on large incomes and inheritances as a means of redistributing wealth on a more equitable basis. Almost as large a number favor compulsory unemployment insurance and more than half advocate labor unions of the craft and national variety. The resolutions being passed by religious conventions where the ministerial mind dominates bear out these conclusions. No other bodies of any kind take such forward looking social attitudes.

Skill is knowing how to do it, and Virtue is doing it.
Wisdom is knowing what to do next;

—David Starr Jordan.

sonality and caught a little of his spirit. I hope he will let us know earlier if he is coming again".

THE UNITED STATES.

Questionnaire on War and Social Problems. The results of the questionnaire to ministers in the United States on international and economic issues sent recently by leaders of the Protestant and Jewish faiths have now been made public. The questionnaire was a project of "The World Tomorrow", of which Kirby Page is editor. It was sent to 100,490 Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis and 20,870 replies were received. An earlier questionnaire was limited to the war issue; this one included seven questions dealing with economic justice.

The table below shows the percentages of affirmative and negative replies to the several questions. The results of the 1931 questionnaire are also given for purposes of comparison. Replies from seminary students are included in the percentages for the recent questionnaire. In 1931 they were presented separately.

Question	Percentage 1934		1931	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. Immediate entry of U.S. in League of Nations	48	29	66	16
2. Military training in high schools and colleges	12	82	13	83
3. Reduced armaments by U.S. regardless of action of other countries	77	16	80	14
4. Abandonment of armed intervention to protect lives and property	75	13	62	20
5. Refusal by the churches to sanction or support any future war	67	22	62	24
6. Individual Purpose not to sanction any future war	62	25	54	30
7. Willingness to serve as army chaplain on active duty in wartime	41	38	45	34
8. Willingness to serve in defensive war, not in aggressive	36	42	43	37
9. Drastic limitation, through the inheritance tax, of inherited wealth	79	8		
10. Drastic limitation, through the income tax, of individual income	76	9		
11. Compulsory unemployment insurance under government administration	63	13		
12. National unions of workers (not company unions) to distribute the proceeds of industry more equally	54	12		
13. Private ownership of banks under government regulation instead of banking as a public service	34	33		
14. Which economic system more consistent with the ideals and methods of Jesus				
Capitalism		5		
Cooperative commonwealth		88		

15. Which political system most effective method for securing cooperative commonwealth

Drastically reformed capitalism	51
Fascism	1
Communism	1
Socialism	28
Some other political system	8

It is evident that there has been a decided change of attitude with regard to the desirability of American entry into the League of Nations. Armed intervention in other countries to protect American life and property was definitely disapproved by 62 per cent of those replying in 1931 : the percentage has increased to 75. There are slight increases in the numbers of those who believe that the church should refuse to sanction any future war, and of those who declare that they will refuse to sanction any future war or to serve as armed combatants. A slightly smaller percentage than in 1931 are ready to serve as chaplains or to serve in defensive war but not in a war of aggression.

In the tabulation by communions, no distinction is made between the different bodies of Baptists, of Methodists, and of Presbyterians. Seven communions returned more than 900 of the questionnaires: Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregational, Lutheran, Protestant Episcopal, Disciples of Christ. Of these, the Methodist Episcopal Church shows itself the most consistently pacifist, and most consistently ready to accept drastic social changes. This holds good on nearly all the questions. A slightly larger percentage of Disciples declare that they could not serve as chaplains in a future war. In the questions of economic justice, there is little or no difference between the votes of Methodists, Congregationalists and Disciples. In regard to unemployment insurance, however, the largest affirmative vote was Congregational 71, followed by Protestant Episcopal, 69; Methodist, 65; Disciples, 63. The vote of the seminary students is close to that of the Methodist ministers on most of the questions on war. They are, however, slightly less willing to participate as armed combatants or as chaplains, and less ready to accept the distinction between aggressive and defensive war. In regard to economic justice, the students are slightly less radical than the Methodists as a whole on some points, but are more strongly in favour of unemployment insurance, national unions, socialized banking, and a cooperative commonwealth. They are much more in favour of socialism than any other group; 49 per cent vote for socialism, as compared with 34 per cent of the total Methodist vote.

Copies of the pamphlet, "20,870 Clergymen on War and Peace", may be secured from Kirby Page, 3947 48th St., Long Island, N.Y. Price, single copies, 25 cents each; special rates for quantities.

Information Service of the Federal Council
of the Churches of Christ, May 5, 1934.

Kaspar Mayr on the Polish-German Work.

The revolution in Germany has made it impossible to carry on the Polish-German work of the Fellowship along the lines upon which it had been planned. I have continued to edit the "Brücke", and by this means have kept in contact with the six hundred or so friends of our work in both countries. The new German policy towards Poland, initiated last Autumn, tended at first to complicate the situation still further, because it was so difficult to foresee the effects of the policy, or to come to a definite decision as to our own attitude to it. My recent tour with Daniel Hogg has thrown some light on these questions.

The Non-Aggression Pact, signed in January, is the first concrete application of the Kellogg Pact principle to a local European problem. It is an unconditioned pact, without reserves and special clauses, and goes in many ways further than the Locarno Treaty. War,

kins, director of European trade for the Carrier Corporation of America, representing business.

Strong Vote for Neutrality

The second approach, "Nonparticipation in war and the war-system," was presented by Rabbi Phillip S. Bernstein of Rochester in an evening address before an audience of approximately 300 people. A feature of this meeting was the poll of public opinion which resulted as follows: To invoke our neutrality act in Far East, 85 per cent; against keeping American battleships in war zones, 87 per cent; against protecting American investments and citizens in danger areas by armed force, 96 per cent and 98 per cent; for a peacetime embargo of arms and munitions, 70 per cent; for a war referendum, 85 per cent; opposed to the supernavy bill, 87 per cent; against the May bill, 80 per cent; in favor of economic cooperation, 90 per cent.

Hold Annual Hymn Festival

The annual community hymn festival of the Protestant churches of Oswego, N. Y., under the leadership of Prof. Gustav Lehman, musical director of Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, was held in the Union Presbyterian Church. Choirs of all Protestant churches in the city and some from adjoining villages cooperated, meeting at 5 P.M. for rehearsal under Dr. Lehman's leadership. Afterwards supper was served, and at 7:30 P.M. they formed a joint choir for the hymn festival. That people are interested in singing was evidenced by the large audience which crowded the auditorium of the church.

Student Counselors Study Campus Problems

At a meeting of religious counselors and directors of religious education in the colleges of New York state, held at Lisle, May 18 and 19, the problems and programs on each of the campuses represented were discussed. The conference was sponsored by the New York State Student Christian Movement under the direction of Ray Sweetman and Katherine Duffield, state executive secretaries. Dr. William H. Powers, dean of Hendricks Chapel and director of student religious work at Syracuse University, addressed the gathering at its first session. He spoke on the subject of attitudes and manners that should characterize leaders and counselors in directing religious programs.

In the afternoons were periods of discussion in which representatives from several campuses spoke, each one summing up in broad outline the problems and programs that obtained on their respective campuses.

And So Forth

Rev. Newland C. Roy, who has been the director of religious education and assistant minister at the First Presbyterian Church, Utica, N. Y., for the last ten years, has accepted the call to be the assistant minister to Dr. J. Harry Cotton at the Broad Street Presbyterian Church, Columbus, O.

Rev. John B. Dobson, Jr., was recently installed as the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Skaneateles. Mr. Dobson came from the Community Church of Darby, N. Y. RAY FREEMAN JENNEY.

200 Youths Take Pacifist Pledge

Southern California Christian Youth
Council Hears Muriel Lester and Kirby
Page—Demand Mayor's Recall

(Correspondence from Southern California)

LOS ANGELES, May 30.—"Japan gets the blame—we get the profits," declared Miss Muriel Lester at the sunrise service sponsored by the Southern California Christian Youth Council in the Occidental College Amphitheater, Easter morning. Japanese as well as American young people saw in her hand the shell fragment which this London social worker and war-resister had picked up beside the stiff body of a lad on the Chinese battlefield. Miss Lester recounted her interview with an American prominent in the shipment of scrap iron to the Far East. "Why pick on me?" he parried. "Why don't you do something about the oil companies and money lenders?" "Oh," answered Miss Lester, "we're going after them, too." Americans, if they were sincerely against war, she insisted, had to make personal sacrifices.

200 Take Pacifist's Pledge

At the close of the service and after silent prayer nearly 200 of those who heard Miss Lester signed cards prepared by a young Quaker: "I accept the challenge of the Cross and will abide henceforth in the spirit and teachings of Jesus. . . . It is my present conviction that whatever it may cost and whatever may be the consequence, I must refuse to fight in any war which my government may declare or to support the war system in any way whatsoever."

Kirby Page Urges Strict Neutrality

Kirby Page conducted a splendid follow-up of this meeting with an all-day Fellowship of Reconciliation conference, May 28, at the Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church. He, too, made a plea for national repentance. It is no use, he insisted, for citizens to stand up self-righteously in the temple thanking God that they are not like those "peace-hating" Italians, Germans and Japanese. The time has come for us all to confess, "Be merciful to us O God, for we are sinners." Have not we Americans during the last 100 years been guilty of a foreign invasion on the average of once a year? Why the 3,000 or so armed Americans still in China? Do we not hang greedily on to our economic advantages? But if there is to be a sure foundation of peace, we have to renounce imperialism ourselves and share our privileges not alone within the nation but beyond our national borders.

Sharing our privileges, however, does not oblige us, according to Mr. Page, to build up the war machine of either the Chinese or Japanese, either the loyalists in Spain or the fascists. On the contrary, we need a stricter neutrality law—this to take effect the moment fighting abroad occurs.

Southern Californians Confer On Christian Unity

One of a series of similar gatherings

across the country, the Southern California Conference on Christian Unity brought together at St. Paul's Cathedral May 26 and 27, under the hospitality of Rt. Rev. W. Bertrand Stevens, a thoroughly representative denominational group who concentrated their attention on the ecumenical idea and its challenge to the American churches. Dr. H. Paul Douglass and Dr. Henry S. Leiper represented the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Prof. Chester C. McCown of the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, led the section on "Church and Education." Local section leaders were Dr. Willsie Martin, Dr. Roy L. Smith and Dr. Duncan G. MacLennan.

The ecumenical note in worship was struck in the devotional services, one of which was conducted by Father Elias Sady, pastor of St. George's Syrian Orthodox Church, and Father K. V. Casimian, pastor of Holy Cross Armenian Church, both of Los Angeles.

Celebrate 10 Years of Interfaith Cooperation

Early in May the founders of the University Religious Conference, O. D. Foster and T. S. Evans, the present executive secretary, were honored at a banquet at the Ambassador Hotel, celebrating the 10 years of pioneer work in the common effort of Catholics, Jews and Protestants at the campuses of U.C.L.A., U.S.C. and L.A.J.C. Mr. and Mrs. Paul Muni and Mr. and Mrs. Joe E. Brown were honored guests.

Ministers Demand Mayor's Recall

Several leading ministers of Los Angeles in a published statement are demanding the recall of Mayor Frank L. Shaw for these reasons: certain city officials have failed to act in exposing and removing such obviously protected evils as gambling and prostitution; officers sworn to uphold the law have refused on the witness stand to "give testimony because they might incriminate themselves"; these same officers have been retained on the public payroll; the police department has maintained a system of espionage on upright citizens including pastors of churches. Some of those who have been spied upon by Chief of Police Davis' special "investigators" are grateful for the honor, but they wonder whether the chief in thus complimenting them has not misused good tax money.

Los Angeles Labor Factions Unite Against 'Open Shop' Threat

The struggle for and against the "open shop," so dear to the heart of the *Los Angeles Times*, is taking interesting forms. On the one side are the "Neutral Thousands," who tell us they want harmonious relations between capital and labor but who do not clearly divulge their source of financial support; the embattled "Women of the Pacific"; and the portentous "Southern Californians, Inc." On the other side are the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. both working for an initiative petition for an ordinance in the interest of peaceful picketing. The reason for this unity is clear when it is realized that the anti-labor-union forces, unless there is counter-action, may put through a city law with so many restrictions that picketing would be impossible. ALLAN A. HUNTER.

The Messenger of Peace

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EDITORIAL COMMENTS

Iron, Blood and Profits—An Exposure of The World-Wide Munitions Racket

AND when we say exposure we mean *exposure*! This is the much-discussed book* by the famous war correspondent and author, George Seldes, and is as authoritative as it is sensational. This is the day when arms manufacturers are "getting theirs," in the startling revelations of their treasonable operations, and the concerned reader may turn to numerous books and articles on the subject. We have little hesitation in saying, however, that among them all this book by Seldes is preeminent. It is so, first, for the amazing wealth of documentary evidence with which the author substantiates his charges. The naked facts are here painstakingly authenticated, and cannot be controverted. In the second place, the author is a journalist with the ability to tell dramatically and impressively the sordid story in all its ramifications. Specifically, among the charges made and substantiated by Seldes are:

1. Munitions-makers have engaged in making war.
2. The armament-makers control a large part of the world press and use it to foster armaments and sabotage disarmament.
3. The munitions-makers before, during, and after the World War were united in an international which profited from high prices.
4. The international armament-makers prolonged the war two years.
5. The warship-makers gave governments false information, stimulating national fear and hatred and an artificial naval race.
6. The international armament-makers armed their enemies during the World War and took the profits of treason.
7. The armament-makers have been among the largest financial supporters of patriotic, defense, naval, air, and army leagues.
8. The national patents and national secrets have been peddled by the international armaments rings.

With all our general knowledge of the iniquitous activities of this destruction-dealing racket, we were nevertheless astounded at some of the revelations made in this book. While citations could be made in support of all the above charges, we refer briefly but to two of them by way of illustration.

Take charge number five. In 1909, the director of a British arms company falsely told the Council of the Empire, sitting in Downing Street, that he had secret evidence "received from Germany" that the German government was secretly engaged in building dreadnaughts and would soon outstrip the British navy. Says Seldes: "It was the greatest and most potential war scare in modern history. Frightened, the British government went in for a dreadnaught building campaign to meet a war threat from Germany which did not exist—and thereby created a war threat to Germany which had its logical result." Again: a German arms company manager instructed an agent in Paris to get something published in the French papers to the effect that France was doubling its order for machine guns—a pure fabrication. He used the French newspaper

*"Iron, Blood and Profits," by George Seldes. Harper & Brothers, pp. 389. \$2.50. For sale by Friends Book and Supply House, Richmond, Indiana.

articles at home to stir up his own government to buy machine guns of his company, and dividends rose "fifty to fifty-five per cent." "It was all a hoax," says Seldes. "The French had not increased their machine guns and had no such intention. But now that the Reichstag had voted the German increase, thanks to the gunmakers' plot, the French were forced to do likewise. The machine gun race was on." Such illustrations could be multiplied.

More appalling still is the author's demonstration of the truth of the fourth charge. In a word he shows conclusively that French munitions interests were so powerful in high governmental circles that they prevented the Allied air forces from bombarding a certain sector of the battle front. Why? Because in that sector were invaluable mines and smelters turning out millions of tons of ore and steel as basic war materials. These French interests owned, in part at least, the mines and smelters and wouldn't allow them disturbed, although those millions of tons of ore and steel were going to the Germans and alone permitted them to continue the war! Thus, as generally conceded by those in a position to know, the war was prolonged for at least two years and millions of lives were unnecessarily sacrificed. In short, France was "bled white" by her own arms manufacturers. Yet "neither death nor disgrace awaits the gentlemen who betray their country in a big way." Rather, they are the great patriots demanding adequate defense for national security.

The book is a continuous revelation of scandalous exploitation. If the people of the world can be outraged into action, this and similar exposures should effect that result. It is necessary to get action while the facts are hot. Circulation of these books should be stimulated and the Senate investigation of this racket encouraged—all as a means of curbing these international criminals and nullifying, so far as possible, the effects of their vicious conspiracies against the peace and well-being of the world.

Protesting Students Will Not Retract And They Will Be Heard

CONSERVATIVE university administrators, backed by court decisions, can no more stem the rising tide of protest against compulsory military training than the Fugitive Slave Law could suppress public sentiment against slavery. Every student expelled for conscientious objection to military training but increases and stiffens student opposition to this autocratic procedure whereby the War Department exploits our educational system. Votes and demonstrations of protest have been reported from various college and university campuses over the country, and they have doubtless helped stimulate student anti-war petitions and parades.

One of the latest expressions of student anti-war sentiment which has come to our attention is reported from the University of Oregon. One evening last month pacifist groups on the

campus gave an anti-military ball—and within stone's throw of the reserve officers' training corps barracks. Murals and cartoons depicted war scenes and the entire motif of the affair was opposition to war, militarism, and armament manufacturers. A short skit was presented, presumably ridiculing war and war-makers. Those student pacifists are taking a leaf from the student military organizations with their pretty girl colonels and are voicing their peace sentiments dramatically and colorfully.

Another encouraging and even more constructive note characterizes recent student opposition to military training. Peace-minded student leaders are urging that courses in peace training be offered—to inform students on the causes of war, the intrigues and propaganda whereby wars are started, and on methods of pacific settlement of disputes. As our college students become more and more convinced that "war is the sum of all villainies," they are increasingly determined to have no part in the infamous system.

Reference is made in our opening sentence to court decisions on the judicial questions of the right to enforce military training upon those conscientiously opposed to it. While some decisions have contended that such enforcement is unconstitutional, the higher courts have maintained its validity. Now comes an opportunity to present the problem in certain important aspects before the United States Supreme Court. Some months ago, two students named Hamilton and Reynolds were expelled from the University of California at Los Angeles for refusing to take military training and the California Supreme Court upheld the University authorities in the expulsion. The young men's attorney, Mr. John Beardsley, has succeeded in getting an appeal before our highest federal court at Washington. The California Committee in charge of the case needs \$2,500 for the purpose of getting it adequately presented. Popular contributions to the fund are urged by the Committee on Militarism in Education. We unite with it in emphasizing the far-reaching implications that would flow from a favorable decision by the Supreme Court. Contributions should be sent to Rev. John Gabrielson, Box 54, Palisades Park, California, who is Treasurer of the Hamilton-Reynolds Defense Committee.

These Preachers Would Lay Down Arms—Maybe!

IN our February issue we gave an editorial review of "Preachers Present Arms," by Abrams. That devastating volume showed how nearly unanimously and how aggressively the preachers of this country supported the last war. On this background it is more than merely interesting to study the results of a comprehensive questionnaire recently circulated among ministers of twelve denominations in this country by Kirby Page and *The World Tomorrow*. This questionnaire, which had to do both with attitudes toward war and peace and toward economic and political questions, was answered by twenty thousand preachers. Of these, approximately fourteen thousand replied in favor of having the churches of America go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war. Regardless of how many of them would keep their peace faith should our government declare another war, this registers an encouraging advance in the thought of our Christian leadership on society's greatest sin.

However, the replies reveal one disconcerting blot on the ministerial peace escutcheon. While nearly thirteen thousand were prepared personally to pledge themselves not to sanction or support another war, apparently about one-half or more of these replied affirmatively to the question—"do you regard the distinction between 'defensive' and 'aggressive' war as sufficiently valid to justify your sanctioning or participating in a future war of 'defense'?" Obviously, this virtually nullifies

their position against war, inasmuch as the distinction is largely theoretical and illusory. All wars are "defensive" as viewed by the nations waging them. Even the Japanese conquered Manchuria in self-defense—the Japanese people actually believe this. What government, in war-time command of the press and the machinery of propaganda, cannot easily persuade its people that it is fighting in defense of home and freedom? And what will our peaceable preachers do then? Says John Haynes Holmes in *Unity*: "The superstition of defense is the crux of pacifism. Until this is cleared away, nothing is safe."

Nevertheless, the results of the questionnaire give basis for encouragement. This Pilgrim's Chorus for peace is hopeful antiphony to "Preachers Present Arms."

Our Contributors Have Done What They Could

IF our mental processes are not quickened in perusing the pages which follow, it will not be the fault of our contributors. They have given us much of the proverbial food for thought—if we have the will to think. And their contributions are as timely as stimulating.

To the poor Balkans! Diplomatically they have for generations been stigmatized as the bad children on the international playground, forever stirring up trouble. Now we rub our eyes to be sure we read aright. Do they presume to teach their betters how to play fair? Think of it—the idea of a government deliberately setting out to educate its people to thinking well of neighboring countries! And not by fair and often meaningless words but by popular education in international neighborliness based on good will textbooks which speak well of other peoples. We may yet find ourselves sitting at the feet of the despised and lowly Balkans.

And this vexatious question of frontiers. How artificial they are for the most part—these stupid, man-made contrivances to keep peoples from being neighborly! Will the youth of the world come to surmount them as the young Germans and Czechs ignored international boundary lines on the snow of Riesengebirge? In this connection may we remark upon the appropriateness of the fact that both these articles having to do with good neighborliness have come to us through the Nofrontier News Service.

Paul Prys are not in good standing socially and decent folks do not recognize them. Why, then, should self-respecting governments stoop to traffic with them? Spies and their business are so despicable that they are associated with firing squads, yet they seem to increase proportionately to the progress of civilization. And yet we send missionaries to the Zulus!

Which way South America? This is the question put by Dr. Inman. Before he gets it answered, however, he asks us, by strong implication, another and more pertinent question— which way United States? Meantime, President Roosevelt gives us a partial answer, at least, in declaring an embargo upon the shipping of arms to Bolivia and Paraguay.

Active peaceableness! This is a goal toward which we should strive, say our Geneva Friends who have been exploring Friendly methods of approximating it. We wish there were space in these pages to publish their review of the evidence which forms the background of the conclusions which we present. It is very illuminating. Would that there were more Friends groups in this country studying the grounds and implications of our so-called peace testimony. Traditional positions, however official and apparently sound, will not suffice for "new occasions" unless we make them our own. Some of these days when a crisis in new guise may be imposed on us, will we be caught as unawares as in 1917? Indeed the crisis is upon us now. What have we to offer toward helping to meet it?

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Ministers Vote To Preach on Trade Policies

Conference on War and
Economic Injustice Is
Stirred by Villard's Talk

Hears Clergy Shun Duty

Dr. Niebuhr Agrees Ser-
mons Should Be Topical

Most of the ministers at the second and concluding session of the Conference on War and Economic Injustice yesterday were convinced that the American church should take a more active part than heretofore in guiding the country's economic destinies. Addressing Protestant clergymen and Jewish rabbis of greater New York, assembled in the Broadway Tabernacle Church, at Fifty-sixth Street, Oswald Garrison Villard, publisher of "The Nation," Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, professor at Union Theological Seminary, and Rabbi Edward I. Israel, of the Har Sinai congregation in Baltimore, were generally applauded when they urged their auditors to deal more frequently in their sermons with economic conditions and the social order.

"It is the business of the church," Dr. Niebuhr said, "to make a realistic analysis of economic conditions. A great many Christian people are going to be tempted toward Fascism in the next decade or so, and carried away by racial dogmas, as a result of various social injustices. Fascism I would define as a kind of delirium into which a social system falls before its death. If the churches would analyze the situation, we might avoid the terrors attendant on the dissolution of capitalism."

Villard Wants Interested Church

Mr. Villard declared himself in complete accord with the ministers already devoting serious thought to economic affairs, as brought out by their answers to the questionnaire sent out by Kirby Page, editor of "The World Tomorrow."

"So great," he said, "has been the change in my lifetime in the attitude of the clergy toward public questions, and so remarkable are the results of the questionnaire sent out by Kirby Page on economic questions, that I can really contribute nothing on this subject beyond urging that the present evolution of the church go on unchecked."

"I suppose that it has been a shock to most of you, as to me, to find that as a result of five years of bad times, economic disaster, and the universal feeling of insecurity in a crashing world, men and women here are suddenly finding that they have totally lost faith in the ideals of American democracy. We are making the horrid discovery that with many of us our boasted democracy is only skin deep and that we are quite willing to abandon it if some one will come along and give us the assurance that he will restore the old and safe order—safe for those who grew wealthy under it."

"When the Church permitted the World War to come, and blessed the fighters in every nation, and assured them in each country that God and right were on their side, it struck a blow at human brotherhood, the complete effects of which we do not yet know. Here in this country people are

so appalled by the consequences of our interference in that struggle that there is a mad passion upon us to live for and by ourselves as much as if we were inhabiting a desert island. We are not to buy of one another. The various countries are told to buy English, buy German, buy American."

"Now, the very fact that the Church has always called itself international, that more than any other force it has appealed for the brotherhood of man, surely makes this its best vantage point for attack. It must join the rest of us who are pointing out that whatever else may be said about the present economic order, it can never be self-contained within a nation, and that it should not be; that no country can afford to be without the trade of other nations, and that free trade would be the greatest guaranty of peace that the world could have."

Rabbi Israel Speaks

When the conference reconvened in the afternoon, Rabbi Israel said that it seemed to him that the ministry had got to a point where it should realize that the future of the Church was going to be written not from a theological point of view, but on the basis of its social value. He linked the question of a possible war with economic problems, saying that many of the most ardent peace-loving are too willing to sacrifice other sacred principles to keep out of war.

The clergymen then broke up into four seminar groups. "Unemployment," led by Harry W. Laidler, executive director of the League for Industrial Democracy; "Economic Nationalism," led by Maxwell S. Stewart, of the research staff of the Foreign Policy Association; "Methods of Social Change," led by Charles C. Webber, of the Union Theological Seminary, and "The National Recovery Administration," led by Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, chairman of the N. R. A. Regional Labor Board.

Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers, minister of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, summarized the findings of the conference when he said that while the Church was still in the dark like the rest of the people concerning a solution of the country's economic ills, it was definitely through with war and would have nothing to do with the next one.